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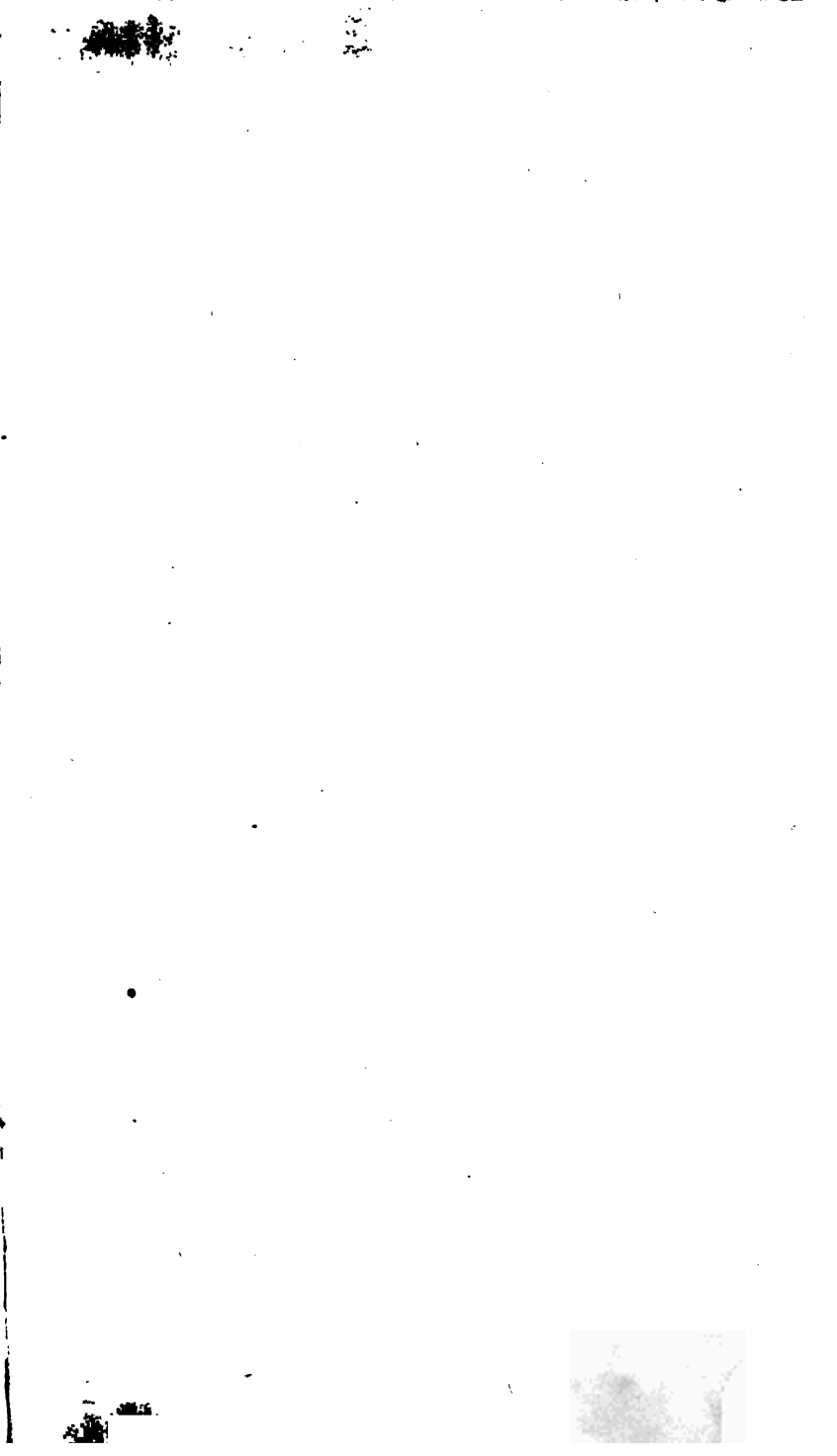
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H. Gravelot inv. et del.

J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

The DEATH of SOCRATES.

Published Feb. 5. 1754, by J. & P. Knapton

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES, JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON,
at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. MDCGXXXV.



THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

CONTAINING

BOOK VIII. *Continued.*

ALCIBIADES's victories and glorious return to ATHENS. LYSANDER admiral, succeeded by CALLICRATIDAS. LYSANDER's victory at ÆGOSPOTAMOS. He besieges and takes ATHENS, and establishes the THIRTY TYRANTS.

BOOK IX.

ARTAXERXES MNEMON. Death and character of ALCIBIADES. Expulsion of the THIRTY TYRANTS by THRASYBULUS. Defeat and death of CYRUS the Younger. Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Cruelty and jealousy

of PARYSATIS. AGESILAUS. His great actions in ASIA. CONON. EVAGORAS. DATAMES. The life of SOCRATES.

BOOK X.

Governments of SPARTA and ATHENS. LAWS of MINOS in CRETE. The SENATE. AREOPAGUS. Revenues &c. of ATHENS. AMPHICTYONS. Education of youth. Exercises of the body and mind. Of war. Troops of the SPARTANS and ATHENIANS. Of maritime affairs, fleets, &c. Character of the ATHENIANS and LACEDAEMONIANS compared.

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A LETTER, written by
the Right Rev. Dr. FRANCIS
ATTERBURY, late Lord
Bishop of Rochester, to Mr.
ROLLIN in recommendati-
on of this Work.

Reverende atque Eruditissime Vir,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui jux-
ta Ædes tuas habitat, scirem te Parisios
revertisse; statui salutarum te ire, ut pri-
mum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex
pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatum, cum
tandem me impleturum sperarem, frustra fui,
domi non eras. Restat, ut quod coram exe-
qui non potui, scriptis saltem literis præstem;
tibi que ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus sum,
beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certe, et
semper habiturus sum, maximas.

Reverà munera illa librorum nuperis à te an-
nis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi vi-
sa sunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præstan-
tissime, et tua omnia quæcunque in isto litera-
rum genere perpolita sunt; in quo quidem

Te cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facile antecellere, atque esse eundem et dicendi et sentiendi magistrum optimum prorsus existimo: cùmque in excolendis his studiis aliquantulum, ipse et operæ et temporis posuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse a te, non solum quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis, cùm juventuti tantum instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ à viris istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, eum voluptate et fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem et satis cognita revocas in memoriam: sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetustis adjicias quod novum sit, alienis, quod omnino tuum: bonasque picturas bonâ in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, a quibus sæpissimè conspectæ sunt, elegantiores tamen solito appareant, et placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpiùs versas, ab illo et ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, et ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophontei nitorem ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantum, sed planè assequi: ita ut si Gallicè scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsus more scripturum judicem.

Hæc

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul a me abest) sed vere ex animi sententiâ dico. Cùm enim pulchris a te donis ditatus sim, quibus, in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensi erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, et te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim et sprete jacent, benè mereri: perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodo te utilem esse vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! iisque decurrentibus sanum te præstet atque incolumen. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet

Tui observantissimus

FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pransurum te mecum post Festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster qui tibi vicinus est. Cùm statueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi significabis. Me certè annis malisque debilitatum, quodocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6°. Kal. Jan. 1731.

A L E T T E R, written by
the Right Rev. Dr. FRANCIS
A T T E R B U R Y, late Lord
Bishop of Rochester to Mr.
R O L L I N, in recommenda-
tion of this Work.

Reverend and most Learned Sir,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you, as soon as my health would admit. After having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me therefore to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and to return you my acknowledgments for all the favours, you have been pleased to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be assured, that I shall always retain the most grateful sense.

And

And indeed I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of exceeding value, and such as do me very great honour. For I have the highest regard, most excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing, that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which way, I must believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are at the same time the best master of speaking and thinking well; and I freely confess that tho' I had applied some small time and pains in cultivating these studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I was instructed in those things by you, of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but seemed to myself to have learnt before. You have therefore too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure, and improvement by persons not unacquainted in learning of the same kind. For whilst you call to mind antient facts and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish, them; still adding something new to the old, something entirely your own to the labours of others: by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

Certainly

Certainly in your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very Manner of relating; you seem not only to have imitated, but attained, the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's stile: so that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have used no other words, nor wrote in any other method, upon the subject you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery, (which is far from being my vice) but from my real sense and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine presents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, tho' exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, most learned and venerable sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on, in forming the youth of France (since you will have their utility to be your sole view) upon the best precepts and examples.

Which

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and during the course of them to preserve you in health and safety. This is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your most obedient

FRANCIS ROFFEN,

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will certainly find one at home, so weak with age and ills as I am,

Dec. 26. 1731.



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[1]

The Antient

HISTORY

OF THE

Persians *and* Grecians.

PLAN and DIVISION of the Fourth Volume.

THIS fourth volume includes the history of twenty eight years from the defeat of Nicias in Sicily, which happened in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the eleventh of Darius Nothus, to the nineteenth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, two years after the treaty of Antalcidas, that is to say ; from *An. Mun.* 3591 to 3619.

This volume may be divided into five parts.

The first, which contains an account of what past during eleven years, and begins immediately after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, includes the glorious return of Alcibiades to Athens ; the exploits of Lysander and Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonians ; the taking of Athens, which puts an

VOL. IV.

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end

end to the Peloponnesian war ; the death of Darius Nothus ; the domestick troubles of the Persian court in the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Mne-mon ; the death of Alcibiades ; the re-establishment of the liberty of Athens, and the first years of Agefilaus king of Sparta.

The second, relates the enterprize of young Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, and the famous retreat of the ten thousand ; which does not much exceed the space of one year.

The third, contains what passed during about sixteen years, from the return of the Greeks to the peace of Antalcidas, in which time appeared particularly Agefilaus king of Sparta, and Conon the Athenian general.

The fourth, is an abridgment of the life of Socrates, his condemnation and death.

The fifth, explains the manners and customs of the Grecian people, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, their political and military government, their religion, feasts, games and combats, so much celebrated in Greece.

During the interval of about thirty years contained in this volume, the holy Scripture is entirely silent upon the history of the Jews, which continues till the time of the Maccabees.

The most considerable events amongst the Romans, are the siege of Veii, the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the victories of M. Furius Camillus, which passed between the years 350 and 380, from the building of Rome.

CHAPTER II.

THIS chapter is the sequel of the preceding book, and contains the eight last years of the Peloponnesian war, during as many years of the reign of Darius Nothus.

S E C T.

S E C T. I.

*Consequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.
Revolt of the allies. Alcibiades grows into great
power with Tissaphernes.*

THE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse A. M. gave occasion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people who had not yet joined either side, and waited to be determined by the event, resolved to declare against them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expences of a war, which lay very heavy upon them, by the speedy and final ruin of Athens. Those of Athens, who followed them only out of constraint, seeing no appearance of any future resource for that republick, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it best to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, to throw off the yoke of dependance, and to resume their liberty. Dispositions of this kind inspired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were supported by the hopes they had conceived, that their Sicilian allies would join them in the spring with a naval army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

In effect the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the same time came deputies from Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. The first was governour of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Hellespont. Those viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their common master. Tissaphernes, promising the Lacedæmonians all the necessary expences for their troops, pressed them to arm with all expedition, and to join him; because the Athenian fleet prevented him from

D. NOTUS levying the customary contributions in his province ; and had put it out of his power to remit those of preceding years to the king. He hoped besides with that powerful succour to get into his hands with more ease a certain nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to send to him, dead or alive. This was Amorges the bastard of Pissuthna. Pharnabazus at the same time demanded ships to reduce the cities of the Hellespont from their subjection to the Athenians ; who also prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by satisfying Tissaphernes ; and the credit of Alcibiades contributed very much to their taking that resolution. He embarked with Calcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians resolved to take the * thousand talents out of the treasury, which had been deposited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus also revolted soon after. Tissaphernes, having joined his troops with those of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iasus, in which Amorges had shut himself up, who was taken alive and sent into Persia. That governour gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma or ten pence a day to each soldier, observing that he had orders to give them only half that sum for the future.

* Three millions of livres.

Thucid.
l. 8. p. 568.

Id. l. 8. p. 561—571, 572—576. Calcidæus at that time made a treaty with Tissaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country which had been subject to the king or his predecessors, should remain in his hands. It was renewed sometime after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with some small alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great concessions had been made

to the king of Persia, in giving up all the places ^{D NOTUS} which had been held by himself or his ancestors, which was to make him master of the greatest part of Greece, Theffaly, Locris, and the whole country to Boeotia, without mentioning the islands; whence it appeared, that the Lacedæmonians, instead of giving liberty to Greece, had enslaved it. It was therefore necessary to make farther alterations in it, with which Tissaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however made, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the mean time, several cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. Agis, who was already his enemy up- ^{Thucid.} on the account of the injury he had done him, could ^{1.8.P.577} not suffer the glory he acquired: For nothing was ^{—579.} done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was ^{Plut. in} generally said, that the success of all enterprizes was ^{Alcib. p.} owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the same sentiments of jealousy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length by their intrigues obliged the principal magistrates to send orders into Ionia to put him to death. Alcibiades, being secretly apprized of this order, did not discontinue his good services for the Lacedæmonians, but kept himself so well upon his guard, that he avoided all the snares which were laid for him. ^{164, 165.}

For his better security he threw himself into the ^{A. M.} protection of Tissaphernes, the great king's gover- ^{3593.} nour at Sardis, and was not long without seeing ^{Ant. J. C.} himself in the highest degree of credit and reputation ^{411.} in the court of that Barbarian. For the Persian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and made no account of simplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the smooth address of Alcibiades, the ease with which he assumed all kinds of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed

D. NOTUS there was no heart so hard, or temper so untractable, as to hold out against the graces and charms of his conversation and intimacy. Even those, who feared and envied him most, enchanted in a manner by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not dissemble their infinite satisfaction in seeing, and conversing with him.

Tissaphernes therefore, though otherwise very haughty and brutal, and who of all the Persians hated the Greeks most, was so much taken with the complacency and insinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himself wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: insomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the finest and most delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the surprizing beauty of its retreats and solitudes, which art and nature seemed to have vied in embellishing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was displayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any safety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the resentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tissaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces to ruin the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Persian into his views, which were conformable to his master's interests, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty concluded under Cimon, the kings of Persia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other measures to ruin them. They endeavoured underhand to excite divisions amongst them, and to foment troubles by considerable sums of money, which they found means to convey sometimes to Athens, and sometimes to Sparta. They applied so successfully to keep up a balance-of power between those two republicks, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only slight aid,

aid, that could effect nothing decisive, in order to D. NOTRUS undermine them insensibly, and exhaust both parties by little and little, in weakening them upon one another.

It is in this kind of conduct, that policy makes the ability of ministers consist ; who from the recess of their cabinets, without noise or emotion, without any great expences, or setting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the states, whose power gives them umbrage ; either by sowing domestick divisions amongst them, or by promoting the jealousy of neighbouring nations, to set them at variance with each other.

We must confess however, that this kind of politics gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Persia. To reduce themselves, powerful as they were, to such mean, obscure, and indirect measures, was to confess their weakness, and how unable they believed themselves to attack their enemies with open force, and to bring them to reason by honourable means. Besides, does it consist with justice to employ such methods in regard to people, against whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whose sole crime is the apprehension of their being one day in a condition to do hurt ? and is it lawful by secret corruptions to ensnare the fidelity of subjects, and to be the accomplice of their treasons by putting arms into their hands against their native country ?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Persia have acquired, if content with the vast and rich dominions, which providence had given them, they had applied their good offices, power, and even treasures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other ; to remove their jealousies, to prevent injustice and oppression ; and if feared and honoured by them all, they had made themselves the mediators of their differences, the security of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties ? Can any

P. NOTHUS conquest, however great, be compared with such glory?

Tissaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Persians, their common enemy. He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the same time that he declared himself openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to assist the Athenians underhand, and by a thousand secret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ships, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occasion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendship and esteem, which rendered that general equally considerable to both parties. The Athenians, who very much regretted their having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their passing sentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades also on his side, who was extremely sorry to see the Athenians in so mournful a situation, began to fear lest the city of Athens might be entirely ruined, and he fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

S E C T. II.

The return of Alcibiades to Athens negotiated upon condition of establishing the aristocratical, in the room of the democratical, government. Tissaphernes concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians.

Thucyd.
l. 8. p. 579
—587.

Plut. in
Alcib. p.
204, 206.

THE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities under their obedience, which had abandoned them, kept the rest in their duty, and found themselves still in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and

and the hundred and fifty Phœnician vessels, which D. NOTAVS he hourly expected, and they saw that if so powerful a fleet should join the enemy, there was no longer any safety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed amongst the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know, that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republick were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the chief officers went from Samos, with design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tissaphernes, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to these proposals, and conceived great hopes of discharging themselves from part of the publick impositions; because the burden lay heaviest upon themselves as they were the richest of the people; and of making their country triumph after having possessed themselves of the government. At their return, they began by bringing over such as were most proper to share in their design; after which they caused a report to be spread amongst the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades were re-instated, and the popular government abolished. That proposal surprized the soldiers, and was generally rejected at first; but the allurements of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, soon softened what was harsh and shocking in it, and even made them ardently desire the recall of Alcibiades.

Phrinicus,

D. NOTUS Phrinicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-establishment, had the boldness to oppose the resolutions, which were about to take place. He represented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the state; that it was very unlikely that the king of Persia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, so much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over those who had renounced it, who would persist in preferring their liberty; that the government of a small number of rich and powerful persons would not be more in favour of the citizens or allies, than that of the people, because ambition was the great cause of all misfortunes in a republick, and the rich were the sole promoters of all disorders, and troubles thereby to aggrandize themselves; that a state suffered more oppressions and violences under the rule of the nobility, than that of the people; whose authority kept them within due bounds, and was the Asylum of such as they desired to oppress; that the allies were too well acquainted with these truths from their own experience to want any lessons upon the subject.

These remonstrances, as wise as they were, had no effect. Pisander was sent to Athens with some of the same faction, to propose the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tissaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They represented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Persia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alledged, amongst other reasons,

sons, the imprecations pronounced by the priests, D. NOTHUS and all the orders of religion, against him, and even against such as should propose to recal him. But Pisander, advancing into the midst of the assembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to save the republick in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced. And as it was admitted there were none, he added, that the preservation of the state was the question, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the sequel; but at present there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendship and that of Tissaphernes. Though this change was very offensive to the people, they gave their consent to it at length, with the hope of re-establishing the democracy in time, as Pisander had promised; and they decreed that he should go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynicius should be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his stead.

The deputies did not find Tissaphernes in so good a disposition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and consume them by one another. He made therefore great difficulties. He demanded at first, that the Athenians should abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards insisted upon the addition of the neighbouring islands. Those demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permission to fit out a fleet, and to cruise in the Grecian seas; which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had imposed upon them.

Tissaphernes

D. NOTUS Tissaphernes without loss of time concluded a new treaty, with the Lacedæmonians; in which, what had displeased in the two preceding treaties, was re-trenched. The article, which yielded to Persia the countries in general, that had been in the actual possession of the reigning king Darius, or his predecessors, was restrained to the provinces of Asia. The king engaged to defray all expences of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Persia; after which they were to support it themselves; unless they should chuse that the king should pay it, to be re-imbursed after the conclusion of the war. It was further agreed, that they should unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common consent. Tissaphernes, to keep his promise, sent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponnesian war.

S E C T. III.

The whole authority of the Athenian government having been vested in four hundred persons, they abuse it tyrannically, and are deposed. Alcibiades is recalled. After various accidents, and several considerable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and is appointed generalissimo. He causes the great mysteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet.

Thucyd.
1.8. p. 590.
594.
Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 105.

PISANDER, at his return to Athens, found the change he had proposed at his setting out much forwarded, to which he put the last hand soon after. To give a form to this new government, he caused ten commissaries with absolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution

was,

was, that every one should be admitted to make such D. NOTUS proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation of infringing the law, or consequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power in all affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated an hundred persons including themselves. Each of these chose and associated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged. But to amuse the people, and to console them with a shadow of popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens, to assist them when they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual; nothing was done however but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost an hundred years after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made use of, when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recal those who were banished, least they should authorize the return of Alcibiades, whose uncontrollable spirit they apprehended, and who would soon have made himself master of the people. Making a tyrannical use of their power, some they put to death, others they banished, confiscating their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain

D. NOTHUS complain of it, were butchered upon some false pretence; and those had met with a bad reception, who had demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to it.

Thucyd.

l. 8. p. 595

—604.

Plut. in

Alcib.

p. 205.

Diod. p.

165.

All that had passed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the soldiers to the highest degree. They deposed immediately several of their chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others into their places, of whom Thrasylus and Thrasymbulus were the principal, and in highest credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen generalissimo by the whole army, that desired to sail directly for the Pyraeum to attack the tyrants. But he opposed it, representing that it was necessary he should first have an interview with Tisaphernes, and that as they had chosen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He set out immediately for Miletus. His principal design was to shew himself to that governor with all the power he had been invested, and to let him see that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The consequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tisaphernes, he now awed Tisaphernes no less by the Athenians; and we shall see in the sequel that this interview was not unnecessary.

Alcibiades upon his return to Samos, found the army more enflamed than at first. The deputies of the four hundred arrived there during his absence, and had endeavoured in vain to justify the alteration made at Athens to the soldiery. Their discourses, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, served only to incense them more, and they earnestly demanded to be led against the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occasion, as every body else would have done in consequence of having been raised to so high a dignity by the favour of the people: For he did not think himself obliged to comply entirely with them and to refuse them nothing,

thing, though, from an exile and a fugitive, they had made him general of so great a fleet, and so numerous and formidable an army : but as a statesman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppose the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which must have been attended with their utter ruin. This wise steadiness preserved the city of Athens. For had they failed thither at first, the the enemy had made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands without resistance ; whilst the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhausted their whole forces against one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and dismissed them ; saying, that he did not object to the five thousand citizens having the supreme authority in the republick, but that it was necessary to depose the four hundred, and to-re-establish the senate.

During these movements, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at Aspendus. Tissaphernes went to meet it ; no body being able to divine the cause of that journey. He had sent for that fleet at first to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a stop to their progress, by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the same motive ; to prevent their doing any thing in his absence, and that their soldiers and mariners might disband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Persia's interest, and to exhaust both parties by the length of the war. For it had been very easy to have put an end to it by the assistance of that additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as strong at sea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuse, of it's not being compleat, for not bringing

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Thucyd. 604, 605.

A city of Pamphlilia.

D. NOTHUS bringing it with him, sufficiently shews that he had other reasons for his conduct.

Thucyd. The return of the deputies without success, who
p. 607— had been sent to Samos, and the answer of Alcibi-
614. ades excited new troubles in the city, and gave a
Plut. in mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred.
Alcib. p. The tumult encreased exceedingly; when news was
206— brought, that the enemy, after having beat the fleet,
210. sent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had
Diod. p. made themselves masters of the island. Athens was in
171, 172 the highest terror and consternation upon this account.
& 175—
177 & 189 For neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other prece-
—192. ding it; were so considerable as the loss of this island,
from whence the city received considerable supplies,
and almost all its provisions. If in the confusion,
in which Athens was at that time between two facti-
ons, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as
it might have done, the army of Samos would have
been indispensably obliged to have flown to the de-
fence of their country: And then the republick would
have had only the city of Athens remaining of all
its dominions. For the Hellespont, Ionia, and all
the islands, seeing themselves abandoned, would
have been reduced to take party; and go over to
the Peloponnesians. But the enemy were not capa-
ble of such great designs; and it is not the first
time the Lacedæmonians have been observed to have
lost their advantages by the slowness and protraction
natural to them.

Athens without delay deposed the four hundred,
as authors of all the troubles and divisions, under
which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by
unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make
all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But
judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens,
he should owe his recal to the compassion and fa-
vour of the people, he resolved to render his return
glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some
considerable exploit. For this purpose, leaving

A. M.

3595.

Ant. J. C.

409.

Samos

Samos with a small number of ships, he cruised about the islands of Cos and Cnidos, and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed to the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he made that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, putting out the Athenian standard in the admiral galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were strongest, and pursued the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them ashore, and animated by his success, sunk their vessels, and made a great slaughter of the soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea to save themselves by swimming; though Pharnabazus spared no pains to assist them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coast, to favour their flight, and to save their ships. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and re-taken those they had lost, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, vain of his success, had the ambition to desire to appear before Tissaphernes in this triumphant equipage, and to make him rich presents, as well in his own, as in the name of the Athenian people. He went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tissaphernes, who knew he was accused by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would punish him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades's presenting himself very opportune, and caused him to be seized and sent prisoner to Sardis; to shelter himself by that injustice against the representations of the Lacedæmonians.

D. NOTUS

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horse, escaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomena, where, to revenge himself on Tissaphernes, he gave out, that he had set him at liberty. From Clazomena he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ships from Macedonia, and by Thrasylbulus with twenty more from Thasos. He sailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All those ships, to the number of fourscore and six, being come thither; he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconnesus, a small isle near Cyzicum. He heard there, that Myndarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabazus and his land-army. He rested that whole day at Proconnesus. On the morrow, he harangued his soldiers, and represented to them the necessity there was for attacking the enemy by sea and land, and to make themselves masters of Cyzicum; representing at the same time, that without a compleat and absolute victory, they could have neither provisions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy should not be apprized of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great storm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprize so successfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had caused to imbark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to sea.

When the gloom was dispersed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared, exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep behind a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising his
small

small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight. Mindarus and Pharnabazus opposed his efforts in vain: the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, besides the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciseness truly laconick, advised the Ephori of the blow they had received in terms to this effect: *The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.*

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the Athenians than consternation to the Spartans. They dispatched ambassadors immediately, to demand that an end should be put to a war equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for the re-establishment of their antient-concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. The wisest and most capable of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealousies, appease all animosities, and remove all distrusts. But those who found their advantage in the troubles of the state, prevented the good effects of that disposition. Cleophon amongst others, the most-reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal of harangues, by a violent and seditious discourse,

D. NOTHUS

Diod. l. 3.

P. 177—

179.

Æsch. in
orat. de
fals. legat.

D. NOTUS discourse, insinuating, that their interests were betrayed by a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them lose for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes, Sparta had caused them to suffer. This Cleophon was an inconsiderable fellow, a musical instrument-maker. It was reported also that he had been a slave, and had got himself fraudulently inrolled in the register of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury so far as to threaten to plunge his dagger in the throat of any one, who should talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their present prosperity, forgetting their past misfortunes, and promising themselves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all proposals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing so fluctuating and precarious as the success of war. The ambassadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the fore-runners of some great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make use of the victory he had gained, and presently after besieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison. During this siege, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabazus, terrified by the rapidity of his conquests, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; "That Pharnabazus should pay them a certain sum of money; that the Chalcedonians should return to their obedience, depend upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute; and that the Athenians should commit no hostilities upon the lands of Pharnabazus, who engaged for the safe conduct of their ambassadors to the great king." Byzantium and several other cities submitted to the Athenians.

Alcibiades

Alcibiades, who desired with the utmost passion to see his country again, or rather to be seen by his country, after so many victories over their enemies, set out for Athens. The sides of his ships were covered with bucklers and all sorts of spoils, in form of trophies; and causing a great number of vessels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he displayed also the ensigns and ornaments of those he had burnt, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred ships. It is said, that from the remembrance of what had been done against him, upon approaching the port, he was struck with some terror, and was afraid to quit his vessel till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the shore to receive him, and earnestly entreated him to land.

The people came out of the city in a body to meet him, and at his appearance set up incredible shouts of joy. In the midst of an infinite number of officers and soldiers, all eyes were fixed on him, as if he had been alone, whom they looked upon as victory itself, descended from the skies: All around him passionately caressing, blessing, and crowning him in emulation of each other. Those, who could not approach him, were never tired with contemplating him at a distance, whilst the old men shewed him to their children. They repeated with the highest praises all the great actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuse their admiration even to those, he had done against it during his banishment, of which they imputed the fault to themselves alone. This publick joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remembrance of past misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their present felicity. "We could not have failed," said they, "of the conquest of Sicily; our other hopes could never have proved abortive,

D. NOTHUS “ if we had referred all our affairs and forces to the
 “ disposal of Alcibiades alone. In what a conditi-
 “ on was Athens when he took upon him our pro-
 “ tection and defence ! We had not only almost
 “ entirely lost our power at sea, but were scarce pos-
 “ sessed of the suburbs of our city, and to add to
 “ our misfortunes, were torn in pieces by a horrid
 “ civil war. He notwithstanding has raised the re-
 “ publick from its ruins ; and not content with ha-
 “ ving re-instated it in the possession of the sove-
 “ reignty of the sea, he has rendered it universally
 “ victorious by land ; as if the fate of Athens had
 “ been in his hands alone, either to ruin or preserve
 “ it, and victory was annexed to his person, and
 “ obeyed his orders.”

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an assembly of the people, in order to his justification before them ; well knowing how necessary it was for his safety to be absolved in form. He appeared therefore ; and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely ascribed to his ill fortune, and some dæmon envious of his prosperity ; he represented to them the designs of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, transported with hearing him speak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by sea and land with unlimited power, restored him all his fortunes, and ordered the * Eumolpides and Ceryces to absolve him from the curses, they had pronounced against him by the order of the people ; doing their utmost to make him amends for the injury and shame of his banishment by the glory of his recal, and to efface the remembrance

* The Eumolpides and Ceryces were two families at Athens who had different functions in the mysteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx,

the first who had exercised those offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had some relation to that of heralds, Κερωνας.

of the anathema's themselves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilst all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking those imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to say: *But for me, I have not cursed him, if he has done no evil to his country*; insinuating by that bold expression, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midst of this glory and shining prosperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they considered the time of his return. For it happened precisely upon the day, when the Athenians celebrated the feast in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The priests took off all its ornaments from the goddesses statue to wash it, from whence that feast was called Πλυστήρια, and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the most ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which answers to the 2d of our July. This circumstance displeased that superstitious people, because it seemed to imply, that the goddess, patroness, and protectress of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aspect, since she covered and concealed herself, as if she would keep him off, and remove him from her.

All things having however succeeded according to his wish, and the hundred ships he was to command, being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great mysteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken possession of all the ways from Athens to Eleusina, the feast had not been solemnized in all-its pomp, and the procession had been obliged to go by sea. The particular ceremonies of this solemnity may be seen in the beginning of the next volume.

D. NOTUS

Alcibiades believed it would be a most glorious action, and attract the blessings of the gods, and the praises of men, if he restored all its lustre and solemnity to this feast, in making the procession by land, under the convoy of his troops, to defend it against the attacks of the enemy. For whether Agis should suffer it to pass quietly, notwithstanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would considerably lessen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory; or if he should chuse to attack it, and oppose the march, he should then have the satisfaction to fight a sacred battle; a battle, grateful to the gods, for the greatest and most venerable of all their mysteries, in the sight of his country and citizens, who would be witnesses of his valour, and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this publick and ostentatious act of piety, which struck the people's view in so sensible a manner, and was so extremely to his taste, Alcibiades's principal design was to efface entirely from their minds, the suspicions of impiety, to which his mutilation of statues, and prophanation of mysteries, had given birth.

Having taken that resolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Geryces to hold themselves in readiness, posted centinels upon the hills, sent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the priests, the initiated, the probationers, with those who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and disposed the whole pomp with wonderful order, and profound silence. Never was shew, says Plutarch, more august, nor more worthy the majesty of the gods, than this warlike procession, and religious expedition; in which even those, who envied the glory of Alcibiades, were obliged to own, that he was no less happy in discharging the functions of an high priest, than those of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or disturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades re-conducted the sacred troops to
Athens

Athens with entire safety. This success gave him D. NOTUS new courage, and raised the spirit and boldness of his troops to such a degree, that they looked upon themselves as invincible, whilst he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower sort of people so much, that they most ardently desired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themselves upon that head; and some addressing themselves to him, exhorted him to set himself above envy, and not to trouble himself about laws, decrees, or suffrages; to put down those wordy impertinents that disturbed the state with their vain harangues, and to make himself master of affairs, and to govern with full authority, without fearing accusers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny, and his designs were, are unknown; but the most powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already saw the sparks, pressed him to depart without delay, granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for colleagues the generals most agreeable to him. He set sail in consequence with an hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterprizes, was the cause that nothing but what was great and extraordinary was expected from him.

S E C T. IV.

The Lacedæmonians appoint Lysander admiral. He becomes very powerful with young Cyrus, who commanded in Asia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus in the absence of Alcibiades, who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are chosen in his stead. Callicratidas succeeds Lysander.

Xenoph.
Hellen. l.
31. p. 440
—442.
Plut. in
Lysand. p.
434, 435.
Diod. l. 13.
p. 192—
197.

THE Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at the return and success of Alcibiades, conceived that such an enemy made it necessary to oppose him with an able general, capable of making head against him. For this reason they made choice of Lysander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the city very well disposed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwise in a very unhappy situation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by habituating the manners and customs of the Persians, who had a great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as because the king's generals commonly took up their winter quarters there. That idle and voluptuous life, full of luxury and empty shew, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lysander, who had been bred from his birth in the simplicity, poverty, and severe exercises in use at Sparta. Having brought his army to Ephesus, he gave orders for ships of burden to assemble there from all sides, erected an arsenal for the building of galleys, made the ports free for merchants, gave the publick places to artificers, set all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence, to which it after attained. Such alteration can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state!

Whilst

Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngest son, was arrived at Sardis: That prince could not be above sixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's accession to the crown in the seventeenth year of his reign. Parysatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire ascendant of her husband. It was she, that occasioned his having the supreme government of all the provinces of Asia minor given him; a command that subjected all the provincial governors of the most important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Parysatis was without doubt to put the young prince into a condition to dispute the throne with his brother after the king's death; as we shall see he does to some effect. One of the principal instructions, given him by his father upon sending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians against Athens; an order very contrary to the politicks followed till then by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of those provinces. It had always been their maxim, sometimes to assist one party, sometimes the other, in order to hold their power in such a ballance, that the one might never be able to crush the other entirely: from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterprizes against the Persian empire.

Upon Lysander's being apprized therefore of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he set out from Ephesus to make him a visit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tissaphernes, who notwithstanding the orders he had received to support the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the sea, had always favoured the latter underhand, from his regard for Alcibiades, whose measures he entirely gave into, and had been the sole cause of the loss of the fleet, by not supplying it with the necessary quantity of provisions. This discourse pleased

D. NOTHUS pleased Cyrus, who looked upon Tissaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he answered, that the king had given him orders to support the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents for that purpose. Lyfander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was submissive and condescending, full of complacency for the great, always ready to pay his court to them, and supporting, from the motive of utility, all the weight of their haughtiness and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour some people make all the address and merit of a courtier to consist.

Five hundred thousand crowns.

He did not forget himself upon this occasion, and setting at work all that the industry and art of a compleat courtier could suggest of flattery and insinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praised his generosity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he desired him to give each soldier and mariner a drachma *per* day; to debauch those of the enemy by that means, and thereby to put an end to the war the sooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but said, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expressly settled only half a talent to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and pressing him to ask something of him, Lyfander desired that an * *Obolus* a day might be added to the seamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four *Oboli*, instead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lyfander ten thousand † daricks for that purpose, that is, an hundred thousand livres,

Two pence.

One thousand five hundred livres.

† *A darick is about a pistole.*

* *The drachma was six oboli, four oboli were six pence half-penny a day, instead of five pence, or three oboli.*

This

This largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and D. NOTHUS alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's ships; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding that satrap represented, that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to ballance the power of one side with that of the other; in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

Though Lyfander had considerably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariner's pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, out of his especial fear of Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ships, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by sea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phœcæa, and Ionia, to raise money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express order not to fight or attack the enemy in his absence; the new commander, to make shew of his courage, and to brave Lyfander, entered the port of Ephesus with two galleys, and after having made a great noise, he retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and insult. Lyfander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached some galleys, and went in pursuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to support Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his side to come on, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lyfander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, went even into the port

D. NOTHUS port to offer ~~him~~ battle; but Lyfander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it: so that he retired without doing any thing.

A. M.

3598.

Ant. J. C.

506.

Thraſybulus at the ſame time; the moſt dangerous enemy he had in his army; left the camp, and went to Athens to accuſe him. To enſlame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full aſſembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given himſelf up to the moſt * notorious debauchees and drunkards, who from common ſeamen were the only perſons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them; to be at leiſure to enrich himſelf in the provinces, and to plunge himſelf there into intemperance and all other infamous exceſſes to the diſgrace of Athens, whiſt his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemies.

Another point of accuſation againſt him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, as an aſylum and retreat for him; as neither being able or willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious inſtant people, gave credit to theſe impeachments. The loſs of the laſt battle, and his little ſucceſs ſince his departure from Athens, inſtead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely ſunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be ſaid to have occaſioned his ruin. For he was ſuſpected, not to have deſired to do what was not done; and they could not believe it was not in his power, as they were fully perſwaded, that nothing he had a mind to do was impoſſible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the ra-

* *Antiochus is pointed at in ſcour of Alcibiades by catching this place, a mean, debauched a quail for him, which he had man, who had acquired the ſallet fly.*

pidity of his conquests did not answer to that of their D. NOTHUA. imaginations; not considering, that he made war without money upon a people, who had the great king for their treasurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in quest of what was necessary for the payment and subsistence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten generals nominated in his stead; of which, when he received advice, he retired in his galley to some castles he had in the Thrasian Chersonesus.

About this time died Plistonax, one of the kings Diod. p. of Lacedæmonia, and was succeeded by Pausanias, 196. who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine answer to one who asked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the antient customs of Sparta: * *It is, says he, because at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*

Lyfander, who intended to establish the govern- Xenoph. ment of the nobility in all the cities in the depen- Hellen. dence of Sparta, that the governours of his chusing l. i. p. 44^a might be always at his disposal, from his having —444— rendered them independent of their people, he Plut. in Lyfand. caused such persons of the principal cities to come P. 435— to Ephesus, as he knew to be the boldest, and most 436. enterprizing and ambitious. These he placed at the Diod. p. head of affairs, promoted to the greatest honours, 197, 198. and raised to the first employments in the army, rendering himself by that means, says Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppressions they committed to advance and enrich themselves. For this reason they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to succeed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lyfander either in valour or military knowledge, and

* Ὅτι τὰς νόμους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ τὰς ἀνδρας τῶν νόμων κυρίως εἶναι δεῖ.
Plut in Apoph. p. 230.

D. NOTHUS was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. As severe to himself as others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury; he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the antient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all things; his simplicity and uprightness abhorred all falsehood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great and powerful could not hinder themselves from admiring his virtue, but they were better pleased with the facility and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.

It was not without mortification and jealousy, Lyfander saw him arrive at Ephesus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baseness and treachery, not uncommon with those who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the publick, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thousand daricks, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners pay, he returned the remainder to that prince, telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the subsistence of his army. This answer gave him great trouble, and distressed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not resolve to extort any from the cities, as he found them sufficiently rifled already.

Plut. in
Apoph.
p. 222.



In this urgent necessity a person having offered him fifty talents, (that is to say, fifty thousand crowns) to obtain a favour he could not grant with justice, he refused them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, said, "I would accept them were I in your place. And so would I," replied the general, "were I in yours."

He

He had no other resource therefore than to go as D. NOTHES
 Lysander had done, to ask money at the gates of the king's generals and lieutenants, for which he was the least proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble sentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baseness, he was convinced at heart, that it was less evil and dishonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than shamefully to make their court, and beg at the gates of Barbarians, whose only merit consisted in their gold and silver. The whole nation were indeed disgraced by so mean a prostitution.

Cicero in his offices, draws two very different characters of persons employed in the administration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals, of whom we speak. The one, says he, * zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, pique themselves upon their simplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it can ever consist with honour to lay snares, or use artifice. The others, prepared to do or suffer every thing, are not ashamed of the meanest actions and prostitutions, provided from those unworthy means, they have reason to expect the success of their designs. Cicero places Callicratidas amongst the former, and Lysander amongst the latter, to whom he gives two epithets not much to his honour, and hardly consistent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful and very patient*, or rather *very complaisant*.

Callicratidas however, forced by necessity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he desired that prince might be told,

* Sunt his alii multum dispares, simplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex insidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuius deser-

viant, dum, quod velint, consequantur. Quo in genere versutissimus et patientissimus Lacedæmonium Lyfandrum, accepimus, contraque Callicratidem. *Offic.* l. i. n. 109.

D. NOTHUS that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to speak with him. He was answered, that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a * party of pleasure; to which he replied with a modest tone and air, that he was in no haste, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards set up a laugh, wondering at the honest stranger's simplicity, who had so little the air of the world in his behaviour, which obliged him to retire. He came thither a second time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Ephesus, loading those with curses and imprecations, who had first made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and submissions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence to insult the rest of mankind. Addressing himself at the same time to those about him, he swore, that as soon as he returned to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongst themselves, that for the future, they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no further occasion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whose thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whose justice, magnanimity, and valour might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the most excellent and most consummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor to apply himself to a work so great, and so worthy of him.

* *The Greek says literally that he was drinking, πονε. The Persians piqued themselves upon drinking a great deal, and made a merit of it, as we shall see in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.*

S E C T. V.

Callicratidas is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginusæ. The Athenians pass sentence of death upon several of their generals for not having brought off the bodies of those, who had been slain in the battle. Socrates alone has the courage to oppose so unjust a sentence.

CALLICRATIDAS, after having gained several victories over the Athenians, had at last pursued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon seeing himself besieged by sea and land, without hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found means to apprize Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in less than a month's time a fleet of an hundred and ten sail was fitted out, on board of which were embarked all that were capable of bearing arms, as well slaves as freemen, with some horse. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and steered for the Arginusæ, islands situate between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their course, left Eteonice to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with an hundred and twenty sail, with design to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thrasylus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were supported by a second line with a like number of ships, commanded by Lysias and Aristogenes. The left wing like the other, drawn up in two lines was under Aristocrates and Diomedon, supported by Erasimides and Pericles*. The main body, consisting of near thirty galleys, amongst which were the three Athenian admirals, was disposed in one line. They

Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. p. 444—452. Dido. l. 13. p. 198 & 201—217—222.

* He was son of the great Pericles.

D. NOTHUS had strengthened each of their wings with a second line ; because their galleys were neither so swift, nor so easy to manage, as those of the enemy ; so that there was reason to fear their getting between two at the same time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themselves with drawing up in one line, to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, advised him not to hazard the battle, and to retire ; but he replied, that he could not fly without shame, and that his death was of small importance to the republick. *Sparta*, said he, *does not depend upon one man*. He commanded the right wing, and Thrasondas the Theban the left.

It was terrible to behold the sea covered with three hundred galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to desire ; so that there was reason to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war, that had endured so long. When the signals were given, the two armies raised great shouts, and began the fight. Callicratidas, who from the answer of the augurs, expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldness, sunk some of their ships, disabled others by breaking their oars and piercing their sides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thousand holes in it ; but the latter having hooked him fast with an iron grappling, he found it impossible to disengage himself, and was surrounded in an instant with several of the Athenian vessels. His own was immediately filled with

with the enemy, and after a dreadful slaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquished. The right wing, which he commanded, having lost its admiral, was put to flight. The left, composed of Boeotians and Eubœans, still made a long and vigorous resistance, from the important concern they were in, lest they should fall into the hands of the Athenians, against whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in disorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginusæ. They lost twenty five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than seventy, of which number, were nine of the ten furnished by the Lacedæmonians.

Plutarch equals Callicratidas the Lacedæmonian Plut. in general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, Lyfand. with all that had ever rendered themselves worthy of P. 436. admiration amongst the Greeks.

He blames him however exceedingly for hazard- Plut. in ing this battle at the Arginusæ, and observes, that Pelop. to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, p. 278. he had, through a mistaken sense of honour, failed in the essential duty of his function. For, says Plutarch, if, (to use the comparison of * Iphicrates) * He was the light armed infantry resemble the hands, the a famous horse the feet, the main body the breast, and the general of the general the head; the general, who abandons him- the Athenians. self rashly to the impetuosity of his valour, does not so much neglect and expose his own life, as the lives of those, whose safety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to answer the pilot who advised him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one man.* For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another either by sea or land, was no more than one man, yet, commanding an army, all that obeyed his orders were collected in his person, and he in whom so many thousands might be

D. NOTUS: lost, *was no longer que man.* * Cicero had passed the same judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having said, that there were many persons to be found, who were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even lives for their country, but who out of a false delicacy in point of glory would not hazard their reputation for it in the least; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who answered those that advised him to retreat from the Arginusæ, *That Sparta could fit out another fleet if this were lost, but for himself, he could not fly before the enemy without shame and infamy.*

I return to the sequel of the battle near the Arginusæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thrasylbulus, and some other officers, to return with about fifty galleys to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilst they rowed on with the rest against Eteonice, who kept Connon besieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempest came on suddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonice having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occasion alarm and terror amongst the troops, sent back those who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out, that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, and having made his troops take some refreshment, he sent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land-army to Methymna, after having burnt his

* Inveni multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam, profundero pro patria parati essent, iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset, Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset

egregiè, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissa, aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse. *Offic. l. 1. n. 48.*
camp.

camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their resentment upon those they believed guilty of that crime. The ancients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead, and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay their last duties to those, who had fallen in battle; upon which they believed their happiness in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the resurrection of the body; but however, the pagans, in the soul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the passion with which they rendered solemn honours to the dead, seem to argue, that they had some confused sense of a resurrection, which subsisted amongst all nations, and descended from the most ancient tradition, tho' they could not distinguish clearly upon it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes and Philocrates for colleagues. Eight days after which, two of them withdrew themselves, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes the tenth general, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had wrote to the senate and people, wherein they excused themselves from the violence of the storm, without charging any body. That calumny was detestably vile, as done in abuse of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he must have appeared

W. NOTHUS appeared the most guilty. The character of Theramenes does not appear in this instance, which in the sequel argues great probity, and zeal for the publick good. The generals at their return, not being able to prevail for the necessary time to make their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots, and all present when it happened. The people seemed to receive their excuse favourably, and several persons offered themselves for their sureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the assembly, because of the night, and its being the people's custom to give their suffrages by lifting up of hands, their resolution could not be known; besides which the council were first to consider upon what they should think fit to propose to the people.

The feast of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the custom to assemble by families, the relations of Theramenes posted several persons in mourning habits, and shaved in proper places, who said, they were the kindred of those, who had been slain in the battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuse the generals in the senate. It was decreed in consequence, that as the accusation and defence had been heard in the last assembly, the people by their respective tribes, should give their voices, and if the accused were found guilty, they should be punished with death, their estates confiscated, and the tenth part consecrated to the * goddess. Some senators opposed this decree as unjust, and contrary to the laws: But as the people, at the instigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the opposers in the same cause and crime with the generals, they were so mean as to desist from their opposition, and to sacrifice the innocent generals to their own safety, by consenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philosopher) was the only one of the senators, that stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing a decree

*Minerva.

decree so notoriously unjust, and so contrary to all D. NOTAVA
 laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, shewed, “ that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up : that if any one were guilty, it was he, who, being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution : but that he accused no body ; and that the tempest, which came on unexpectedly at the very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He demanded, that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence, wherein the lives of the most illustrious citizens were concerned ; that it was in some measure attacking the gods to make * men responsible for the winds and weather ; that they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them ; that if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed with a sudden, but vain, repentance, which would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal shame and infamy.” The people seemed at first to be moved with these reasons ; but animated by the accusers, they pronounced sentence of death against eight of the generals, and six of them, who were present, were seized in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a person of great repute for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. “ Athenians,”

* Quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri assignet, quod venti et fluctus³ deliquerint. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 3.

D. NOTHUS said he, " I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic ; but I have one favour to ask of you in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them ; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen, that did not melt into tears at this discourse so full of goodness and religion, and admire with surprize the moderation of a person, who seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not however vent the least resentment, or even complaint against his judges, but was solely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to perish) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The six generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that sentence, but their repentance could not restore the dead to life. Callixenus, the orator, was put in prison, and refused to be heard. Having found means to make his escape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned sometime after to Athens, where he died of hunger, universally detested and abhorred by all the world, as all false accusers and slanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks that the people themselves were justly punished for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a single master, but to thirty tyrants, that treated them with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

Plut. in
Axioch p. The disposition of a people is very naturally imaged in this account ; and Plato, upon the same event, 368, 369. draws in few words their character with much spirit and resemblance. The *commonalty, says he, is an un-

* Δῆμος ἀψήκοτος, ἀχαρίστον ἄνθρωπον βλάπτοντα, ἀπαίδευτον.

constant,

constant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, incapable of submitting to the government of reason; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly composed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous assemblage, without form or order, of all that is worst in it.

The same relation shews what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon those who pass for the wisest, and how few there are, who are capable of supporting inflexibly, the prospect of danger and disgrace. Though the justness of the general's cause was perfectly known in the senate, at least by the major part of it, as soon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, those grave senators, most of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers of war, instantly changed sides, and came over to the most notorious calumny, and crying injustice that ever was known. An evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely transcends the valour, that induces so many thousands of men every day to confront the most terrible dangers in battle.

Amongst all the judges, only one, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treason and perfidy stood firm and immovable; and though he knew his suffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no consequence to the accused, he thought them a just homage to oppressed innocence, and that it was * unworthy of an honest man to govern himself by the fury of a blind and frantick people. So far may justice be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thousand citizens, who composed the assembly, two only took upon them the defense of the generals, Euriptodemus and Axi-ochus. Plato has preserved their names, and given

* Οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ μοι σιμὸν δημομανομένῳ συντάττειν.

D. NOTHUS that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of these reflections are extracted.

A. M. The same year the battle of the Arginusæ was
3598. fought, Dionysius possessed himself of the tyranny in
Ant. J. C Sicily. I shall defer speaking of him till the ensu-
406. ing volume, in which I shall treat the history of
the tyrants of Syracuse at large.

S E C T. VI.

Lyfander commands the Lacedæmonian fleet. Cyrus is recalled to court by his father. Lyfander's celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.

Xenoph. AFTER the defeat at the Arginusæ, the affairs
Hellen. of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, sup-
l. 2. p. 45. ported by the credit of Cyrus, sent an embassy to
Plut. in Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet
Lyf. p. should again be given to Lyfander, with the promise
436, 437. to serve with more affection and courage under his
Diod. l. 13. orders. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta
p. 223. that the same person should be twice admiral; the
A. M. Lacedæmonians, to satisfy the allies, gave the title
3599. of admiral to one Aracus, and sent Lyfander with
Ant. J. C. him, whom in appearance they commissioned only
405. as vice-admiral, though in effect with all the authority of the supreme command.

All those who had the greatest share in the government of the cities, and were of the highest authority in them, saw him arrive with extreme joy; promising themselves, from his influence, the final subversion of the democrattick power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, suited much better with their ambitious and injurious views, than the austere equity of Callicratidas. For Lyfander was a man of the most corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles in point of virtue or the most sacred duties. He made no scruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occasions, and
esteemed

esteemed justice only as far as it served his measures. D. NOTHUS
When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the useful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; convinced that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falsehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience resulting from them. And for such as represented to him, that it was unworthy the descendants of Hercules to make use of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them; For, said he, *where the lion's skin is ineffectual, it is necessary to add the fox's tail to it.*

There is an expression attributed to him, which sufficiently denotes, how small an account he made of perjury. He used to say, * *Children are amused with baubles, and men with oaths*, shewing by so professed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconsiderable with him than his enemies. For he who deceives with a false oath, plainly declares in so doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he despises God.

Here ends the twenty sixth year of the Pelopon- Xenoph.
nesian war. In this year it was, that young Cyrus, Hellen.
dazzled with the unusual splendor of supreme autho- l. 2. p 454.
rity, and jealous of the least omission in point of ceremonial homage, discovered by a remarkable action the secret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning house, nurtured under the shade of the throne amidst the submissions and prostrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the discourses of an ambitious mother that idolized him, in the desire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of sovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with surprizing haughtiness and rigor. Two Persians of the royal family, his cou-

* *The Greek text admits another sense, which is perhaps no less good: Children may use art, and cheat one another in their*

games, and men in their oaths.
*Επέλυν τῆς μὲν παιδὸς ἀσραγέλοις,
τῆς δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐμοῖς ἑκαπαταῖν.*

D. NOTHUS sin-germans by their mother, his father Darius's sister, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to a ceremonial observed only to the kings of Persia. Cyrus, resenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and caused them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whose feet their relations threw themselves to demand justice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his son's as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being sick, and having a desire to see him.

Cyrus before his departure sent for Lyfander to Sardis, and put into his hands great sums of money for the payment of his fleet, promising him still more for the future. And with the ostentation of a young man, to let him see how much he desired to oblige him, he assured him, that though the king his father should cease to afford him any supplies, he would furnish him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he should want the necessary provisions, he would even cause the throne of massy gold and silver, upon which he sat in judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of setting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues from the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his absence, unless superior in force; because the king neither wanted the will nor power to give him that superiority to the enemy; promising at the same time, with the strongest assurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ships from Phoenicia and Cilicia.

Xenoph.
Hellen.

l. 2. p. 455

--458.

After that prince's departure, Lyfander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampfacus.

Torax,

Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. The place was carried by storm, and left by Lyfander to the soldiers mercy. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to an anchor in the port of Eleon-
tum with an hundred and fourscore galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampfacus, they immediately steered for Sestos, and after having taken in provisions, they stood away from thence, sailing along the coast to a place called * Ægospotamos, * where they halted over against the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampfacus. The Hellespont is not above two thousand paces broad in that place. The two armies, seeing themselves so near each other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.

D Notus
Plut. in
Lys. p. 437
& 440.
Id. in Al-
cib. p. 212.
Diod. l. 13.
p. 225,
226.

*The ri-
ver Goat.*

But Lyfander had another design in his view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders with profound silence. He commanded the land-army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morrow, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lyfander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore, till two or three galleys, which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which fear, in their sense,

prevented

D. Nornus prevented from shewing themselves, and attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse, and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their own pleasure, whilst they were faced in view by the enemy's fleet, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with the readiest obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades alone would have the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wise and salutary counsel, as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the common-wealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered battle; retiring in the evening according to custom with more insulting airs than the days before. Lyfander, as usual, detached some galleys to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence, when they saw the Athenians landed, and to put up a brazen buckler at each ship's head as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

As soon

As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ships D. NOTHVS heads, and the admiral galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forwards in good order. The land-army at the same time made all possible haste to the top of the promontary to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen stadia, or three ^{1875 paces} quarters of a league in breadth, which space was presently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived from shore, that fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and trouble, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were ran to the sutlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had begun to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in their taking repose, and gave their soldiers the same liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship called the *Paralian*, stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, took immediately the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lyfander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After

D. NOTUS having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemies' galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampfacus amidst the sound of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits, recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted seven and twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lyfander immediately sent dispatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lyfander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumbs of the right hand of all prisoners of war, to disable them for handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lyfander therefore caused him to be brought forth, and asked him, what sentence he would pass upon himself for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without bating of his pride in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer; "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges; and as you are victor, use your right, and do by us as we had done by you, if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lyfander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians in them to withdraw as soon as possible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other rout; declaring, that after a certain time fixed,

ed, all such should be punished with death, as should be found out of Athens. Which he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more easily, and to render it incapable of sustaining a long siege. He afterwards applied himself in subverting the democrattick, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *Harmostes*, and ten archons or magistrates, whom he chose out of the societies, he had established in them. He secured to himself by that means in some measure the general government, and a kind of sovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power but such as were entirely devoted to his service.

S E C T. VII.

Athens besieged by Lysander, capitulates, and surrenders. Lysander changes the form of government, and establishes thirty commanders in it. He sends Gylippus before him to Sparta with all the gold and silver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the use to be made of it. The Peloponnesian war ends in this manner. Death of Darius Notbus.

WHEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ship, which arrived in the night at the Piræum, the city was in universal consternation. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery to which they were about to be given up, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted; to re-

A. M. 3600.
Ant. J. C. 404.
Xenoph. Hellen. 1.2. p. 458
—462.
Plut. in Lysand. p. 440; 441.

D. NOTHUS pair the breaches in the walls ; and that guards should be posted against a siege.

In effect Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops, Lyfander soon after came to the Piræum with an hundred and fifty sail, and prevented all ships from going in or coming out. The Athenians, besieged by sea and land, without provisions, ships, hope of relief, or any resource, re-instated all persons attainted by any decree, without speaking the least word of a capitulation however, though many had already died of famine. But when their corn was entirely consumed, they sent deputies to Agis, to propose a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their possessions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them. When they arrived at Salasia upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commission to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals if they expected peace. The Ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each side of the Piræum should be demolished : but an Athenian for venturing to advice a compliance, was sent to prison, and prohibition made against proposing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition Theramenes declared in the assembly, that if he were sent to Lyfander, he would know, whether the proposal made by the Lacedæmonians for dismantling the city, was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months absent ; no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions, that should be offered. On his return he told them, that Lyfander had detained him all that time, and that at last he had been given to understand, that he might apply to the Ephori.

He

He was therefore sent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general assembly, where the Corinthians and several other allies, especially the Thebans, insisted that it was absolutely necessary to destroy the city without hearkening any farther to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and safety of Greece to their own grandeur, made answer, that they would never be reproached with having destroyed a city that had rendered such great services to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the resentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under these conditions: "That the fortifications of the Piræum, with the long wall that joined that port to the city, should be demolished; that the Athenians should deliver up all their galleys, twelve only excepted; that they should abandon all the cities, of which they had possessed themselves, and content themselves with their own lands and country; that they should recal their exiles, and make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, under whom they should march wherever they thought fit to lead them."

The deputies on their return were surrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, such multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the success of their negotiation; the treaty was ratified notwithstanding the opposition of some persons, and Lyfander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the same day, that the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece

D. NOTUS had that day regained its liberty. So ended the Peloponnesian war, after having continued during the space of twenty seven years.

Lyfander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, established thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a good garrison into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius, *Harmostes* or governor. Agis dismissed his troops. Lyfander, before he disbanded his, advanced against Samos, which he pressed so warmly, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. After having established its anti-ent inhabitants in it, he proposed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian galleys, those of the Piræum, and the beaks of those he had taken.

He had sent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and spoils to Lacedæmon, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold, given him by the cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to say, fifteen hundred thousand crowns. Gylippus, who carried this considerable sum, could not resist the temptation of converting some part of it to his own use. The bags were sealed up carefully, and did not seem to leave any room for theft. He unsewed them at bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he sewed them up again very neatly, and thought himself perfectly safe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, discovered him. To avoid punishment, he banished himself from his country, carrying along with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied, by so base and sordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most distinguishing of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enslaved not only the

the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lyfander for having acted so contradictively to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to * banish all that gold and silver from the republick, and to lay the heaviest of curses and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other states, introduced only to corrupt the wholesome constitution of the Spartan government, which had supported itself for so many ages with vigour and prosperity. The Ephori immediately passed a decree to proscribe that money, and ordained that none should be current, except the usual species of iron. But Lyfander's friends opposing this decree, and sparing no pains to retain the gold and silver in Sparta, the affair was referred for farther deliberation. There seemed naturally only two methods to be considered ; which were, either to make the gold and silver species current, or to cry them down and prohibit them absolutely. The men of address and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their sense, reconciled both the others with great success ; this was wisely to chuse the mean betwixt the vitious extremes of too much rigor and too much neglect. It was therefore resolved, that the new coin of gold and silver should be solely employed by the publick treasury ; that it should only pass in the occasions and uses of the state ; and that every private person, in whose possession it should be found, should be instantly put to death.

A strange expedient, says Plutarch, As if Lycurgus had feared the species of gold and silver, and not the avarice they occasion ; an avarice, less to be extinguished by prohibiting to particulars the possession of it, than enflamed by permitting the state to amass and make use of it for the service of

* Ἀποδοποιεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμης.

D. NOTHUS the publick. For it was impossible, whilst that money was in honour and esteem with the publick, that it should be despised in private as useless, and that people should look upon that, as of no value in their domestick affairs, which the city prized, and were so much concerned to have for its occasions; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the publick, being a thousand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the publick. The Lacedæmonians therefore continues Plutarch, in decreeing the pain of death for those who should make use of the new money in private, were so blind and imprudent to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of punishment as a guard at the door was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house: They left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves a violent passion for amassing treasure, in causing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

A. M.
3600.
Ant. J. C.
404.

It was about the end of the Peloponnesian war, that Darius Nothus king of Persia died, after a reign of nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before his death, and Parysatis his mother, whose idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithstanding the faults he had committed in his government, pressed the old king to declare him his successor also, after the example of Darius the first, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, because born, as Cyrus was, after his father's accession to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arfaces, his eldest son by Parysatis also, whom Plutarch calls Arficas, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he held before.

BOOK THE NINTH.

The Antient

HISTORY

OF THE

Perfians *and* Grecians

CONTINUED,

During the first fifteen years of the reign of
Artaxerxes Mnemon.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the domestick troubles of the court of Persia: the death of Alcibiades: the re-establishment of the liberty of Athens: and Lyfander's secret designs to make himself king.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

SECT. I.

Coronation of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus attempts to assassinate his brother, and is sent into Asia minor. Cruel revenge of Statira, wife of Artaxerxes, upon the authors and accomplices in the murder of her brother. Death of Alcibiades. His character.

A. M.
3600.
Ant. J. C.
404.

ARSACES, upon ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes, the same to whom the Greeks gave the surname of * MNEMON, upon account

* which word signifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.

ARTAX.
MEMON.

Athen. 1.
12. P. 548.

account of his prodigious memory. Being near his father's bed when he was dying, he asked him a few moments before he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might follow his example. *It has been,* replied he, *to do always what justice and religion required of me.* Words of deep sense, and well worthy of being set up in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent instructions to their children on their death-beds, which would be more efficacious, if preceeded by their own example and conduct, without which they are as weak and impotent as the sick mortal who gives them, and seldom survive him long.

Plut. in
Artax.
p. 1012.
* A city of
Persia
built by
Cyrus the
Great.

Soon after Darius's death, the new king set out from his capital for the city of * Pasagardes, in order to his coronation according to custom by the priests of Persia. There was in that city a temple of the goddess who presided in war, in which the coronation was solemnized. It was attended with very singular ceremonies, which no doubt had some mysterious sense; though Plutarch does not explain of what kind. The prince at his consecration divested himself of his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the antient Cyrus, before he came to the throne, which was preserved in that place with great veneration. After that he eat a dry fig, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught composed of milk and vinegar. This might signify, that the sweets of sovereign power are mingled with the sowers of care and disquiet, and that, if the throne be surrounded with pleasures and honours, it is no less attended with pains and anxieties. It seems sufficiently evident, that they intended in putting the robe of Cyrus upon the new king, to make him to understand, that he should also cloath his mind with the

the great qualities and extraordinary virtues of that prince.

ARTAXERXES,
MEMOR.

Young Cyrus, abandoned to his ambition, was in despair upon being for ever prevented from ascending a throne his mother had given him, and on seeing the scepter which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackest crimes cost the ambitious nothing. Cyrus resolved to assassinate Artaxerxes in the temple itself, and in the presence of the whole court, just when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was apprized of this design by the priest himself, who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was seized, and condemned to die, when his mother Parysatis, almost out of her senses, flew to the place, clasped him in her arms, tied herself to him with the tresses of her hair, fastened her neck to his, and by her shrieks, and tears, and prayers, prevailed for his pardon, and that he should be sent to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no less ardent than before, was animated besides with the rage of the check he had received, and the warm desire of revenge, and armed with an almost unbounded power. Artaxerxes upon this occasion acted contrary to the most common rules of policy, which do not admit * the nourishing and enflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtiness of a bold and enterprizing young prince, like Cyrus, who had carried his personal enmity to his brother so far, as to have resolved to assassinate him with his own hand, and whose ambition for empire was so great, as to put him upon using the most criminal methods for the attainment of it.

Artaxerxes had espoused Statira. Scarce had her husband ascended the throne, when she employed the

* Ne quis mobiles adoleſcentibus : ad ſuperbiam extolleret.
Tacit. *Annal.* l. 4. c. 17.

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power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. History has not a more tragical scene, nor a more monstrous complication of adultery, incest, and murder; which, after having occasioned great disorders in the royal family, terminated at length in the most fatal manner to all who had any share in it. But it is necessary for the reader's knowledge of the fact to trace it from the beginning.

X Hidarnes, Statira's father, a Persian of very great quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arfaces. At the same time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hamestris Arfaces sister, one of the daughters of Darius and Parysatis; in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the same time another sister in this family, no less beautiful than Statira, and who besides excelled in the arts of drawing the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuchmes her brother conceived a criminal passion for her, and to gratify it resolved to free himself by killing Hamestris, whom he had espoused. Darius, having been informed of this project, by the force of presents and promises, engaged Udiastes, Teriteuchmes's intimate friend and confident, to prevent so black a design by assassinating him. He obeyed, and had for his reward, the government of him he had assassinated with his own hands.

Amongst Teriteuchmes's guards was a son of Udiastes, called Mithridates, very much attached to his master. This young gentleman, upon hearing that his father had committed this murder in person, uttered all manner of imprecations against him, and full of horror for so infamous and vile an action, seized on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting, declared for the establishment of Teriteuchmes's son,

But

But that young man could not long hold out against Darius. He was blocked up in the place with the son of Teriteuchmes, whom he had with him, and all the rest of the family of Hidarnes were put in prison, and delivered to Parysatis, to do with them as that mother, exasperated to the last excess by the treatment either done or intended against her daughter Hamestris, should think fit. That cruel princess began by causing Roxana, whose beauty had been the occasion of this evil, to be sawed in two, and ordered all the rest to be put to death, except Statira, whom she granted to the tears, and the most tender and ardent solicitations of Arfaces; whose love for his wife made him spare no pains for her preservation, though Darius, his father, believed it necessary, even for his own good, that she should share the same fate with the rest of her family. Such was the state of the affair at the death of Darius.

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Statira, as soon as her husband was upon the throne, causes Udiastes to be delivered into her hands. She ordered his tongue to be torn out, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, to punish the crime which had occasioned the ruin of her family. She gave his government to Mithridates, in recompence for his attachment to the interests of her family. Parysatis on her side took her revenge on the son of Teriteuchmes, whom she caused to be poisoned, and we shall see that Statira's turn was not very remote.

We see here the terrible effects of female revenge, and in general to what excesses they are carried, who find themselves above laws, and have no other rule for their actions than their will and pleasure.

Cyrus, having resolved to dethrone his brother, employed Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, to raise a body of Grecian troops, under pretence of a war, which the Spartan was to carry into Thrace. I shall defer speaking of this famous expedition, and also of the death of Socrates, which happened about
the

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the same time; intending to treat those two great events in all the extent they deserve. It was without doubt with the same view, that Cyrus presented Lyfander a galley of two cubits in length made of ivory and gold, to congratulate him upon his naval victory. That galley was consecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos. Lyfander went soon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent presents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occasion Cyrus had the celebrated conversation with Lyfander related by Xenophon; and which Cicero after him has thought fit to apply. That young * prince who piqued himself more upon his integrity and politeness than nobility and grandeur, took pleasure to conduct in person so illustrious a guest through his gardens, and to make him observe the various beauties of them. Lyfander, struck with so fine a prospect, admired the manner in which the several parts were laid out, the height and projection of the trees, the neatness and disposition of the walks; the abundance of fruits, planted with an art which had known how to unite the useful with the agreeable; the beauty of the parterres, and the dazzling variety of flowers, exhaling odours universally throughout the charming

* Narrat Socrates in eo libro Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, præstantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lyfander Lacedæmonius, vir summæ virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardes, eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lyfandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quemdam conseptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lyfander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum qui efflarentur e

floribus; tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam solertiam ejus, a quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta. Et ei Cyrum respondisse: At qui ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ: Tum Lyfandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est. *Cic. de Senect. n. 59.*

scene. Every thing charms and transports me in this place, said Lyfander, addreffing himfelf to Cyrus; but what ftrikes me moft is the exquisite tafte and elegant induftry of the perfon, who drew the plan of the feveral parts of this garden, and gave it the fine order, wonderful difpofition, and happinefs of fymmetry, which I cannot fufficiently admire. Cyrus, infinitely pleafed with this difcourfe, replied, it was I that drew the plan, and entirely marked it out and not only that; many of the trees, which you fee, were planted with my own hands. What, replied Lyfander, confidering him from head to foot, is it poffible with thefe purple robes and fplendid veftements, thofe ftrings of jewels and bracelets of gold, thofe bufkins fo richly embroidered, that you could play the gardiner, and employ your royal hands in planting trees! Does that furprize you said Cyrus? I fwear by the god * Mithras, that when my health admits, I never fit down to table without having made myfelf fweat with fome fatigue or other, either in military exercife, rural labour, or fome other toilsome employment, which I give into with pleafure, and without fparing myfelf. Lyfander was amazed at this difcourfe, and preffing him by the hand: † You well deferve, Cyrus, said he, your high fortunes, who join virtue fo wifely with them.

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Alcibiades was at no pain to difcover the miftery of the levies made by Cyrus, and went into the province of Pharnabafus, with defign to proceed to the court of Perfia, and to apprize Artaxerxes of the fcheme laid againft him. Had he arrived there, a difcovery of fuch importance had infallibly procured him the favour of that prince, and the affiftance he wanted for the re-eftablifhment of his country.

* The Perfians adored the fun under that name, who was their principal god.

† Δυναίως, ὡς Κύπρ, εὐδαιμονίης

ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὡς εὐδαιμονίης; which Cicero translates: Recte verò te, Cyre, beatum ferunt quoniam virtuti tuæ ſe fortunæ conjuncta eſt.

But

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But the Lacedæmonian partisans at Athens, that is to say, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of so superior a genius as his, and represented to their masters, that they were inevitably ruined if they did not find means to rid themselves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabazus, and with an abject meanness not to be excused, and which shewed how much Sparta had degenerated from its antient manners, made pressing instances to him, to deliver them at any rate from so formidable an enemy. The satrap complied to their wish. Alcibiades was then in a small town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine *Timandra. Those who were sent to kill him, not daring to enter his house, contented themselves with surrounding, and setting it on fire. Alcibiades, having quitted it through the flames with his sword in his hand, the Barbarians were afraid to stay, or to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they showered a multitude of darts and arrows upon him at a distance, so that he fell dead upon the spot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it, as her present condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whose great virtues were choaked up and rendered ineffectual by greater vices. † It is not easy to say, whether his good or bad qualities were most pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived his citizens, and with the other he oppressed them. In him distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. He was handsome, well made, eloquent, of great ability in affairs, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory; but without pre-

* It was said that Lais the famous courtesan, called the Corinthian, was the daughter of this Timandra.

† Cujus nescio utrum bona an vitia patriæ perniciosiora fuerint; illis enim cives suos decepit, his afflixit. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.

judice to his inclination for pleasure; nor was he so fond of pleasure, as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into; or abstract himself from it; according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphosed himself with incredible facility; like a Proteus, into the most contrary forms, and supported them all with as much ease and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

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This convertibility of character according to occasions; the customs of countries, and his own interests, discover an heart void of principles, without either truth or justice. He did not confine himself either to religion, virtue, laws, duties; or his country. His sole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he reduced all else. His aim was to please, to dazzle; and be beloved; but at the same time to subject those he soothed. He favoured them only as they served his purposes; and made his correspondence and society a means for the engrossing of every thing to himself.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His sallies for virtue were ill-sustained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes; very little to the honour of the instructions of that great philosopher, who took no small pains to cultivate him into a man of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but inconnected and inconsistent. He was successively the support and terror of the Lacedæmonians and Persians. He was either the misfortune and refuge of his own country; according to his declaring for or against it. In fine, he was the author of an universal destructive war in Greece, from the sole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to besiege Syracuse; much less from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with design of keeping Athens dependent upon himself; convinced that having to deal with

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an inconstant, fuspicious, ungrateful, jealous people; averfe to thofe that governed, it was neceffary to employ them continually in fome great affair, in order to make his fervices always neceffary to them, and that they might not be at leifure to examine, cenfure and condemn his conduct.

He had the fate generally experienced by perfons of his character, and of which they cannot reafonably complain. He never loved any one, himfelf being his fole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to deceive all men, and no body confided in, or adhered to, him. His fole view was to live with fplendor, and to lord it univerfally; and he perifhed miferably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble fervices and impotent zeal of one only woman, for the laft honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philofopher, of whom more will be faid elfewhere.

S E C T. II.

The Thirty exercife the moft horrid cruelties at Athens. They put Theramenes one of their colleagues to death. Socrates takes his defence upon himfelf. Thrafybulus attacks the tyrants, makes himfelf mafter of Athens, and reftores its liberty.

Xenoph.

Hift. l. 2. p.

462 & 479.

Diod. l. 14.

p. 235—

238.

Juftin. l. 5.

c. 8. 10.

THE council of Thirty, eftablifhed at Athens by Lyfander, committed the moft execrable cruelties. Upon pretence of reftaining the multitude within their duty, and to prevent feditions, they had caufed guards to be affigned them, had armed three thoufand of the citizens for that fervice, and at the fame time difarmed all the reft. The whole city was in the utmoft terror and difmay. Whoever oppofed their injuftice and violence, became the victims of them. Riches were a crime, that never failed of drawing a condemnation upon their

their owners, always followed with death, and the confiscation of goods; which the thirty tyrants divided amongst themselves. They put more people to death, says Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the enemies had done in a war of thirty years.

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The two most considerable persons of the Thirty were Critias and Theramenes, who at first lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had some honour, and loved his country. When he saw with what an excess of violence and cruelty his colleagues behaved, he declared openly against them, and thereby drew their resentment upon him. Critias became his most mortal enemy, and acted as informer against him before the senate, accusing him of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, and of designing to subvert the present government. As he perceived, that the defence of Theramenes was heard with silence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the decision of the senate, they would dismiss him acquitted. Having therefore caused a band of young men, whom he had armed with poniards, to advance to the bar, he said that he thought it the duty of a supreme magistrate to prevent justice from being surprized, and that he should act accordingly upon this occasion. "But," continued he, "as the law does not admit, that any of the three thousand should be put to death without the consent of the senate, I exclude Theramenes from that number, and condemn him to die in virtue of my own and my colleagues authority." Theramenes upon these words, leaping upon the altar; "I demand," said he, "Athenians, that I may be tried according to the laws; which cannot be refused me without manifest injustice. Not that I imagine, that the goodness of my cause will avail me any thing, or the sanction of altars protect me, but I would shew at least, that my enemies respect neither the gods nor men. What

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“ most astonishes me is, that persons of your wisdom
“ do not see, that your own names may as easily be
“ struck out of the list of the citizens, as that of The-
“ ramenes.” Critias then ordered the officers of justice
to pull him down from the altar. An universal silence
and terror ensued upon the sight of the armed soldiers,
that surrounded the senate. Of all the senators, only
Socrates, whose disciple Theramenes had been, took
upon him his defence, and opposed the officers of jus-
tice. But his weak endeavours could not deliver Thera-
menes, who was led to the place of execution, not-
withstanding all he could do, through crowds of the ci-
tizens, who saw with tears in the face of a man equally
considerable for his love of liberty, and the great servi-
ces he had done his country; what they had to fear for
themselves. When they presented him the hemlock,
that is, the poison (which was the manner of putting the
citizens of Athens to death) he took it with an intrep-
id air, and after having drank it, he threw the bot-
tom upon the table, after the usual manner observed
in feasts on publick rejoycings, saying: *This for the
noble Critias.* Xenophon relates this circumstance,
inconsiderable in itself, to shew, says he, the tran-
quillity of Theramenes in his last moments.

The tyrants delivered from a colleague, whose
presence alone was a continual reproach to them, no
longer observed any measures. Nothing passed
throughout the city but imprisonments and murders.
* Every body trembled for themselves or their friends.
The general desolation had no remedy, nor was
there any hope of regaining their liberty. Where

* Poteratne civitas illa con-
quiescere, in qua tot tyranni e-
rant; quot satellites essent? Ne
spes quidem ulla recipiendæ li-
bertatis animis poterat offerri, nec
ulli remedio locus apparebat con-
tra tantam vim malorum. Unde
enim miseræ civitati tot Harmo-

dios? Socrates tamen in medio
erat, et lugentes patres consola-
batur, et desperantes de republica
exhortabatur—et imitari vo-
lentibus magnum circumferebat
exemplar, cum inter triginta do-
minos liber incederet. *Senec. de
tranquil. anim. c. 3.*

were

were then as many †Harmodius's as they had tyrants? Terror had entire possession of their minds, whilst the whole city deplored in secret their loss of liberty, without having one amongst them generous enough to attempt the breaking of its chains. The Athenian people seemed to have lost that valour, which till then had made them awful and terrible to their neighbours and enemies. They seemed even to have lost the very use of speech; not daring to vent the least complaint, lest it should be made a capital crime in them. Socrates only continued intrepid. He comforted the afflicted senate, animated the desponding citizens, and set all men an admirable example of courage and resolution; preserving his liberty, and erecting his head in the midst of thirty tyrants, who made all else tremble, but could never shake the constancy of Socrates with their menaces. Critias, Xenoph. Memorab. l. 1. p. 716. 717. who had been his pupil, was the first to declare most openly against him, taking offence at the free and bold discourses which he held against the government of the Thirty. He went so far as to prohibit his instructing the youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to so unjust an order.

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained a love of liberty, quitted a place reduced to so hard and shameful a subjection, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat, where they might live in safety. At the head of these was Thrasylbulus, a person of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the most lively affliction the miseries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive those unhappy fugitives of this last resource. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them re-

† Harmodius formed a conspiracy from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

fuge, decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatsoever, that should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmost to assist him. Lyfias, the Syracusan orator, who had been banished by the Thirty, ** raised five hundred soldiers at his own expence, and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.*

Thraſybulus lost no time. After having taken Phyla, a small fort in Attica, he marched to the Piræum, of which he made himself master. The Thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle sufficiently rude began. But as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of others, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was left upon the place, and as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thraſybulus cried out; “Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants.” He continued with bidding them remember, that they had the same origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compassionate their exiled brethren, to restore their country to them, and to re-assume themselves their native liberty. This discourse had suitable effects. The army upon their return to Athens, expelled the Thirty, and sub-

* Quingentos milites stipendio communis eloquentiæ misit. *Justin. l. 5. c. 9.*
suo instructos, in auxilium patriæ

stituted ten persons to govern in their room, whose conduct proved no better than theirs.

It is a matter of surprize, that so sudden, so universal, so persevering, and so uniform a conspiracy against the publick good should actuate the several bodies of persons established in the administration of this government. This we have seen in the four hundred formerly chosen by Athens; again in the Thirty; and now in the Ten. And what augments our wonder is, that this passion for tyranny should possess so immediately republicans, born in the bosom of liberty, accustomed to an equality of condition, on which it is founded, and principled from their earliest infancy in an abhorrence of all subjection and dependency. There must be on the one side in power and authority some violent impulse, thus to draw in so many persons, of whom many no doubt were not without sentiments of virtue and honour; and to suppress so instantaneously the principles of manners, that formed their natural characters: and on the other side, there is a violent propensity in the mind of man to subject his equals, to rule over them imperiously, to carry him on to the last excesses of oppression and cruelty, and to make him forget at once all laws, nature, and religion.

Vi domi-
nationis
convulsus.
Tacit.

The Thirty being fallen from their power and hopes, sent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lyfander's fault, who was sent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-established. But king Pausanias, moved with compassion for the deplorable condition, to which a city, once so flourishing, was reduced, had the generosity to favour the Athenians in secret, and at length obtained a peace for them. It was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to re-instate themselves in the government, and being present at a parley for that purpose, were all put to the sword, and left Athens in the full possession

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tion of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thraſybulus at that time propoſed the celebrated amneſty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath for the final oblivion of all paſt tranſactions. The government was re-eſtabliſhed upon its ancient foot, the laws reſtored to their priſtine vigour, and magiſtrates elected with the uſual forms.

I cannot forbear obſerving in this place the wiſdom and moderation of Thraſybulus, ſo ſalutary and eſſential after ſo long a continuance of domeſtick troubles. This is one of the fineſt events in antient hiſtory, worthy the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has ſerved as a model to ſucceſſive ages in good governments.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that the Athenians had lately ſhaken off. Every houſe was in mourning; every family bewailed the loſs of ſome relation. It had been a ſeries of publick robbery and rapine, in which licence and impunity had authorized all manner of crimes. The people ſeemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices in ſuch notorious malverſations, and the intereſt of the ſtate, to authorize ſuch a claim, that by exemplary ſeverities ſuch black proceedings might be prevented for the future. But Thraſybulus riſing above thoſe ſentiments, from the ſuperiority of his more extenſive genius, and the views of a more diſtinguiſhing and profound policy, foreſaw, that by giving in to the puniſhment of the guilty, eternal ſeeds of diſcord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republick by domeſtick diſſiſions, which it was neceſſary to unite againſt the common enemy, and occaſion the loſs to the ſtate of a great number of citizens, who might render it important ſervices from the view itſelf of making amends for paſt miſbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a ſtate has always ſeemed, with the ableſt politicians, the moſt certain and ready means to reſtore the publick peace and

and tranquillity. † Cicero, when Rome was divided into two factions upon the occasion of Cæsar's death, who was killed by the conspirators, calling to mind this celebrated amnesty, proposed, after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had passed in eternal oblivion. Cardinal Mazarine observed to Don Lewis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal consequences, and *that the king had not lost a foot of land by them to that day*; whereas the inflexible severity of the Spaniards occasioned, *that the subjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the mask, never returned to their obedience, but by the force of arms*; which sufficiently appears, says he, in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable possession of many provinces, *that not an age ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain.*

Let. XV.
of Card.
Maz.

Diodorus Siculus takes occasion from the thirty tyrants of Athens, whose immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the most excessive cruelties, to observe how unfortunate it is for persons in power to want a sense of honour, and to disregard either the present opinion, or the judgment posterity will form of their conduct: for from

† In ædemy telluris convocati sumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit jeci fundamentum pacis; Atheniensium renovavi vetus exemplum, Græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quod tum in

sedandis discordiis usurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. *Philipp. l. 1. n. 1.*

* Some believe that word was *ἀπαρτία*; but as it is not found in the historians, who have treated this fact, it is more likely, that it was *παρρησιάζεσθαι*, which has the same sense, and is used by them all.

¶ Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptâ famâ, contemni virtutes—Quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui præ-

senti potentia credunt extinguî posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam—suam cuique decus posteritas rependit. *Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 33 & 35.*

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the contempt of reputation the transition is too common to that of virtue itself. They may perhaps, by the awe of their power, suppress for some time the publick cry, and impose a forced silence upon censure; but the more constraint they lay upon it in their lives, the more liberal will it be after their deaths of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be laid upon their memories. The power of the Thirty was of a very short duration; their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence through all ages, whilst their names will be recorded in history only to render them odious, and to make their crimes detestable. He applies the same reflection to the Lacedæmonians, who after having made themselves masters of Greece by a wise and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the severity, haughtiness, and injustice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtless no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealousy, in regard to Athens enslaved and humbled, has not prejudiced against them; nor is there any resemblance in such behaviour of the greatness of mind and noble generosity of ancient Sparta; so much power have the lust of dominion and prosperity over the most virtuous of men. Diodorus concludes his reflection with a maxim as true, as it is little known, "The greatness and majesty of princes," says he, (and the same may be said of all persons in high authority) "can be supported only by humanity and justice with regard to their subjects, as on the contrary, it is ruined and destroyed by a rigid and oppressive government, which never fails to draw upon them the hatred of their people."

S E C T. III.

*Lyfander abuses his power in an extraordinary manner.
He is recalled to Sparta upon the complaint of Pharnabafus,*

AS Lyfander had the greateft ſhare in the celebra- Plut. in
ted exploits, which had raifed the glory of the Lys. p.
Lacedæmonians to ſo high a pitch; ſo had he ac- 443—445
quired a degree of power and authority, of which
there was no example before in Sparta; but he ſuf-
fered himſelf to be carried away with a preſumption
and vanity ſtill greater than his power. He permitted
the Grecian cities to dedicate altars to him as to a
god, and to offer ſacrifices, and ſing hymns and can-
ticles in honour of him. The Samians ordained by
a publick decree, that the feaſts celebrated in honour
of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddeſs,
ſhould be called, *the feaſts of Lyfander*. He had
always a crowd of poets about him, (who are often
a tribe of venal flatterers,) that emulated each other
in ſinging his great exploits, for which they were
magnificently paid. Praise is undoubtedly due to
noble deeds; but diminifhes their luſtre, when ei-
ther forged or exceſſive.

This ſort of vanity and ambition, had he ſtopt
there, would have hurt only himſelf, by expoſing
him to envy and contempt; but a natural conſequence
of it was, that through his arrogance and pride, in
conjunction with the inceſſant flatteries of thoſe
around him, he carried the ſpirit of command and
authority to an inſupportable exceſs, and threw off
all regard to meaſures either in rewarding or puniſh-
ing. The abſolute government of cities, and tyran-
nick power were the fruits of his frienſhip, and the
ties of a good underſtanding with him; and only
the death of thoſe he hated, could put an end to his
reſentment and diſpleaſure, without its being poſſi-
ble

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ble to escape his vengeance. What Sylla caused to be inscribed upon his tomb, might with equal propriety have been engraved upon Lyfander's: That no man had ever surpassed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies.

Treachery and perjury cost him nothing whenever they promoted his designs; nor was he less cruel than revengeful; of which what he did at Miletus is a sufficient proof. Apprehending that those who were at the head of the people would escape him, he swore not to do them any hurt. Those unfortunates gave credit to his oath, and no sooner appeared in publick, than they were put to the sword, with his consent, by the nobility, who slew them all, though no less than eight hundred. The number of those in the party of the people, whom he caused to be massacred in the other cities is incredible; for he did not only destroy to satiate his own resentments, but to serve in all places the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he supported in gratifying their passions by the death of their enemies.

There was no kind of injustice and violation which the people did not suffer under the government of Lyfander; whilst the Lacedæmonians, who were sufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themselves no trouble to prevent its effects. It is too common for those in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppressions laid upon persons of low condition and credit, and to be deaf to their just complaints, though authority is principally confided in them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if such remonstrances are made by a great or powerful person, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the same authority that was slow and drowsy, becomes immediately active and busy; a certain proof, that it is not the love of justice which puts it in motion: This appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magistrates. Pharnabasus, weary of Lyfander's repeated

repeated injustices, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having sent ambassadors to Sparta, to complain of the wrongs he had received from that general, the Ephori recalled him. Lyfander was at that time in the Hellespont. The letter of the Ephori threw him into great consternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accusations of Pharnabafus, he made all the haste he could to come to an explanation with him, from the hope of softening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpose to him, and desired, that he would write another letter to the Ephori, intimating a satisfaction in his conduct. But Lyfander, says Plutarch, in such an application to Pharnabafus, forgot the * proverb, *Set a thief to catch a thief*. The satrap promised all he desired, and accordingly wrote such a letter in Lyfander's presence as he had asked of him, but he prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to seal it, as both letters were of the same size and form, he dexterously put that he had wrote in secret into the place of the other without being observed, and sealed, and gave it him.

Lyfander departed well satisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the senate was assembled, and delivered Pharnabafus's letter to the Ephori. But he was strangely surprized, when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confusion and disorder. Some days after he returned to the senate, and told the Ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon to acquit himself of the sacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence, to cover the pain it gave him to live as a private person in Sparta, and to submit to the yoke of obeying; he, who till then had always

* The Greek proverb is, *Cretan against Cretan, from the people of Crete, who passed for the greatest cheats and liars in the world.*

commanded.

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commanded. Accustomed long to give his orders to armies, and to the flattering distinctions of a king of sovereignty exercised by him in Asia, he could not endure the mortifying equality with the multitude, nor restrain himself to the simplicity of a private life. Having obtained permission, not without great difficulties, he embarked.

As soon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in his dependence, by the means of their governours and magistrates of his establishing, to whom they were also indebted for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and master of all Greece, applied themselves vigorously to restore the government of the people, and to depose all his creatures and friends from any share in it. This alteration occasioned great tumults at first. About the same time Lyfander, being apprized of the design of Thraſybulus to re-establish the liberty of his country, returned with the utmost diligence to Sparta, and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to support the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before observed, that Pausanias, from a noble principle of equity and generosity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, says Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lyfander's ambition.

CHAPTER II.

Young Cyrus, with the aid of the Grecian troops, endeavours to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes. He is killed in battle. Famous retreat of the ten thousand.

ANTIQUITY has few events so memorable, as those I am about to relate in this place. We see on one side a young prince, abounding otherwise with excellent qualities, abandoned to his violent ambition, carry the war from far against his brother and sovereign,

sovereign, and go to attack him almost in his own palace, with the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We see him, I say, fall dead in the combat at the feet of that brother, and terminate by so unhappy a fate an enterprize equally glaring and criminal. On the other hand the Greeks who follow him *, destitute of all succour after the loss of their chiefs, without allies, provisions, money, horse, or archers, reduced to less than ten thousand men, with no resource but in their own persons and valour, supported only with the warm desire of preserving their liberty and of returning to their native countries; these Greeks with bold and intrepid resolution make their retreat before a victorious army of a million, traverse five or six hundred leagues, notwithstanding vast rivers and innumerable passes, and arrive at last in their own country through a thousand fierce and barbarous nations, victors over all obstacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force reduce them to undergo.

This retreat in the opinion of the best judges and most skilful in the art of war, is the boldest and best conducted exploit to be found in antient history, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us it is described to the most minute circumstance by an historian, who was not only eye-witness of the facts he relates, but the *primum mobile*, the soul of this great enterprize. I shall only abridge it, and abstract its most material circumstances; but I cannot omit advising young persons who make arms their profession to consult the original, of which there is a good translation extant in French, though far short of the admirable beauties of the text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able master than Xe-

* Post mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertentesque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes, per tanta itineris spatia, virtute se usque ad terminos patriæ defenderunt. *Justin.* l. 5. c. 14.

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MNEMON.Iliad. i.
v. 443.

nophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here what Homer says of Phoenix the governor of Achilles; *That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence of arms.*

Μαδων τὴν ψαλὴν ἱσχυοῖ, ἀποκρίσας τὴν ἱσχυοῖ.

S E C T. I.

Cyrus raises troops secretly against his brother Artaxerxes. Thirteen thousand Greeks join him. He sets out from Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a march of six months.

Diod. l. 14.

p. 243—

849 & 252.

Justin. l. 5.

c. 11.

Xenoph.

de Cyri ex-

ped. l. i. p.

243.

A. M.

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Ant. J. C.

404.

WE have already said, that young Cyrus, son of Darius Nothus and Parysatis, saw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and that at the very time the latter was taking possession of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. Artaxerxes was not insensible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprizing and ambitious spirit; but could not refuse pardoning him to the prayers and tears of his mother Parysatis, who doated upon this youngest son. He removed him therefore into Asia to his government; confiding to him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an absolute authority over the provinces left him by the king his father in his will.

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Ant. J. C.

403.

As soon as he arrived there, his thoughts were solely intent upon revenging the supposed affront he had received from his brother, and to dethrone him. He received all that came from the court with great favour and affability, to induce them insensibly to quit the king's party, and adhere to him. He gained also the hearts of the Barbarians under his government; familiarizing himself with them, and mingling with the common soldiery, though without forgetting the dignity of their general; these he formed by various exercises for the trade of war.

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He applied particularly in secret to raise from several parts and upon different pretexts a body of Greek troops, upon whom he relied much more than upon those of the Barbarians. Clearchus retired to his court after having been banished from Sparta, and was of great service to him, being an able, experienced and valiant captain. At the same time several cities in the provinces of Tissaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, assembled troops openly, and to amuse the court the more speciously, sent grievous complaints to the king against that governour, demanding his protection and aid in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by these appearances, and believed, that all Cyrus's preparations regarded only Tissaphernes, and continued quiet from the assurance of having nothing to apprehend for himself.

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MNEMON.

A. M.
3602.
Ant. J. C.
402.

Cyrus knew well how to improve the imprudent security and soft indolence of his brother, which some people conceived the effect of his goodness and humanity. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he seemed to imitate the virtues of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore. For he demeaned himself with great mildness and affability to such as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently all those whose services had merited favour; when he passed sentence to punish, it was without either outrage or insult; and when he made presents, it was with a gracious air, and such obliging circumstances as infinitely exalted their value, and implied, that he was never better pleased than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his subjects. To all these excellent qualities it had been very necessary for him to have added one no less royal, and which would have put him upon his guard against the enterprizes of a brother, whose

Plut. in
Artax. p.
1013.

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MNE MON.

character he ought to have known ; I mean a wise foresight, that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or dissipate whatever may disturb the tranquillity of the state.

The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions amongst the people, to prepare their minds for the projected change and revolt. They talked that the state required a king of Cyrus's character ; a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that served him ; and that it was necessary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valour to augment its glory.

A. M.

3603.

Ant. J. C.

401.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. He was then twenty three years old at most. After the important services he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never obtained the victories that had made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely open himself to them. He therefore imparted to them the present situation of his affairs, and the end he had in view ; convinced that such a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.

In the letter he wrote them he spoke of himself in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother ; that he was better versed in philosophy and the * knowledge of the Magi, and that he could drink more wine without being disordered in his senses, a very meritorious quality amongst the Barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the opinion of those he wrote to. The Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos his admiral in

* By the knowledge of the Magi, amongst the Persians, was meant the science of religion and government.

all things, but without the least mention of Artaxerxes, or seeming in any manner privy to his design. ARTAX. MNEMON. They thought that precaution * necessary for their justification with Artaxerxes, in case affairs should happen to terminate in his favour.

The army of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of an hundred thousand regular troops of barbarous nations. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader. The Bœotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Thessalians under Menon. The Barbarians Xenoph. Cyri ex. l. 1. p. 252. had Persian generals, of whom the chief was Artychus. The fleet consisted of thirty five ships under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty five commanded by Tamos the Ægyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land-army, coasting along near the shore.

Cyrus had opened his design only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, foreseeing aright that the length and boldness of the enterprize could not fail of discouraging and disgusting the officers, as well as soldiers. He made it his sole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindness and humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they should want for nothing. Proxenes, between whose family and Xenophon's an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus, who received him very favourably, and gave him an employment in his army amongst the Greeks. Xenoph. l. 2. p. 294. He set out from Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Asia. The troops knew neither the occasion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had

* Quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem, si viciisset, veniæ patrocinia, cum nihil adversus eum aperte decrevisset. *Justin. l. 5. c. 11.*

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MNEMON.

only caused it to be given out, that he should act against the Pisidians, who had infested his province by their incursions.

Plut. in
Artax.
p. 1014

Tissaphernes, rightly judging that all these preparations were too great for so small an enterprize as against Pisidia, had set out post from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occasioned great trouble at court. Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, was looked upon as the principal cause of this war; and all persons in her service and interest were suspected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, especially, the reigning queen, reproached her incessantly in the most violent terms. "Where is now," said she to her, "that faith you have so often engaged for your son's behaviour? Where those ardent prayers you used to preserve from death that conspirator against his king and brother? 'Tis your unhappy fondness has kindled this war, and plunged us into an abyss of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other were already very great, and much enflamed by such warm reproaches. We shall see what consequences they have. Artaxerxes assembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

Xenoph.
l. i. p. 248
—261.

Cyrus advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him most on the way was the pass of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and steep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to pass at a time. Syennesis, king of the country, prepared to dispute this passage with him, and would infallibly have succeeded, but for the diversion made by Tamos with his fleet in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coasts against the insults of the fleet, Syennesis abandoned that important post, which a small body of troops might have made good against the greatest army.

When they arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to march any farther, rightly suspecting that they were

were intended against the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this emotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very ill success, and desisted therefore from an open opposition to their sentiments: He even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and credit. He declared publicly, that he would not separate himself from them, and advised them to depute persons to the prince, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his measures; if not, that they might demand his permission to withdraw. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and made them easy, and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprized of every thing, made answer that he was going to attack * Abrocomas his enemy, who was at twelve days march distance upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one † darick a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half.

† The darick was worth ten livres.

Some time after, Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deserted with part of their equipage on board a merchant-ship. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to send two galleys after them; which might be done with great ease, and that when they were brought back, they should be made an example by suffering death in the sight

* It is not said where he commanded. It appears to be upon the Euphrates. He marched with three hundred thousand men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.

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of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that * favour was the most certain means to the attainment of affection, and that punishments, like violent remedies, ought never to be used but in extreme necessity, declared publickly that he would not suffer it to be said, that he had detained any one in his service by force; and added, that he would send them their wives and children, whom they had left as hostages in his hands. An answer of so much wisdom and generosity had a surprizing effect, and made even them his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent lesson for those who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generosity, which it is necessary to know and apply. Threats exasperate them, and chastisement makes them revolt, when endeavours are used to force them to do their duty against their will. † They desire a certain confidence in their honour, and that the glory of acquitting themselves out of choice be left in their power: To shew that you believe men faithful, is often the best means to make them so.

Cyrus soon after declared, that he marched against Artaxerxes. Upon which some murmuring was heard at first, but it soon gave place to the expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army.

Plut. in
Artax. p.
1014
Xenoph.
l. 1, p. 261
—266.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts, that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the remote parts of Persia, till all his forces were assembled; and that to stop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylonia, with a fosse of five fathom broad, and three deep, extending the space of

* Beneficiis potius quam re-
mediis ingenia experiri placuit.
Plin. in Traj.

† Nescio an plus moribus con-

ferat princeps, qui bonos esse pa-
titur, quam qui cogit. *Plin. ibid.*
Plerumque habita fides ipsam
obligat fidem. *Liv.*

twelve * Parafangas or leagues from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the fossé a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to dispute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribasus, who persuaded him not to fly in such a manner before an enemy, against whom he had infinite advantages as well from the number of his troops as the valour of his generals. He resolved therefore to advance against the enemy,

S E C T. II.

The battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are victorious on their side, Artaxerxes on his, Cyrus is killed.

THE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about † twenty five leagues from Babylon. The army of Cyrus consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, and a hundred thousand Barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with scyths. The enemy in horse and foot might amount to about twelve hundred thousand under four generals. Tissaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including six thousand chosen horse, that fought in the king's presence, and never quitted his person. But Abrocomas, who had the command of three hundred thousand men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only an hundred and fifty chariots armed with scyths.

Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 263—266. Diod. l. 14. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017. † Five hundred stadia.

Cyrus believed from the enemy's not having defended the pass at the fossé, that there would be no

* The Parafangas is a measure of ways peculiar to the Persians, It was commonly thirty stadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to sixty stadia. In the march of Cyrus's army I suppose the Parafanga only twenty stadia, or one league, for reasons I shall give hereafter.

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battle ; so that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being in his chariot with few soldiers in their ranks before him, and the rest marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, an horseman came in full speed, crying out as he passed, that the enemy approached in order of battle. Upon this, great confusion ensued, from the apprehension that they should not have time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horseback with his javelins in his hand, he gave orders universally to the troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks ; which was executed with so much expedition, that the troops had not time to refresh themselves.

Cyrus posted upon his right a thousand Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light-armed infantry of the Greeks ; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenes, and the rest of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatick nations, were commanded by Ariæus, who had a thousand horse. Cyrus placed himself in the center, where the chosen troops of the Persians and other Barbarians were posted. He had around him six hundred horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses, with head and breast-pieces. The prince's head was uncovered, as were those of all the Persians, whose custom it was to give battle in that manner ; the arms of all his people were red, as those of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onset Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to cover himself in the rear of the Grecian battalions. *What is it you say,* replied Cyrus ? *At the time I am endeavouring to make myself king, would you have me shew myself unworthy of being so ?* That wise and generous answer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, especially on a day of battle. Had he withdrawn when his presence

was

was most necessary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is necessary, always preserving the due distinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger should be common, and no one exempt from it; least the latter should be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the desire of distinction, the fear of dishonour, the incapacity to do otherwise than their fellow-soldiers, and the equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus had either ruined, or greatly weakened, all these potent motives, by discouraging as well the officers as soldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to discharge all the functions of that office, and to shew himself worthy to be the leader and soul of such a number of valiant men, ready to shed their blood for his service.

It was now noon, and the enemy did not yet appear. But about three of the clock a great dust like a white cloud arose, followed soon after with a blackness that overcast the whole plain; after which was seen the glittering of armour, lances, and standards. Tissaphernes commanded the left, which consisted of cavalry armed with white cuirasses, and of light-armed infantry; in the center was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood, which covered the soldier entirely (these were Egyptians.) The rest of the light-armed infantry and of the horse, formed the right wing. The foot were ranged by nations, with as much depth as front, and in that order composed square battalions. The king had posted himself in the main body with the choice of the whole army, and had six thousand horse for his guard, commanded by Artagerfes. Though he was in the center, he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, so much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. An hundred and fifty chariots armed with scyths were placed

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placed in the front of the army at some distance from one another. The scyths were fixed to the axle downwards and a-flant, so as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as soon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the center, where the king was posted; the success of the battle depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through so great a body of troops, replied, that he need be in no pain, and that he would take care to do what was necessary.

The enemy in the mean time advanced slowly in good order. Cyrus marched in the space between the two armies, the nearest his own, and considered both of them with great attention. Xenophon, perceiving him, spurred directly up to him, to know whether he had any farther orders to give. He called out to him, that the sacrifices were favourable, and that he should tell the troops so. He then hastened through the ranks to give his orders, and shewed himself to the soldiers with such a joy and serenity in his countenance, as inspired them with new courage, and at the same time with an air of kindness and familiarity, that excited their zeal and affection. It is not easy to comprehend, what great effects a word, a kind air, or a look of a general will have upon a day of action; and with what ardor a common man will rush into danger, when he believes himself not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a slow pace, and without noise and confusion. That good order and exact discipline extremely surprized the Greeks, who expected to see much hurry and tumult in so great a multitude, and to hear confused cries, as Cyrus had foretold to them.

The

The armies were not distant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on, softly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horse, and then moving all together, they sprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled universally; except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

Cyrus saw with pleasure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by those around him. But he did not give himself up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himself victor. He perceived, that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly against him with his six hundred horse. He killed Artagerfes, who commanded the king's guard of six thousand horse with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Discovering his brother, he cried out with his eyes sparkling with rage, *I see him*, and spurred against him followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the runaways, which was an essential fault.

The battle then became a single combat, in some measure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were seen, transported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their swords into each other's heart, and to assure themselves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus, having opened his way through those who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horse, that fell with him to the ground. He rose, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his last. The king

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king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, was only the more furious from the smart, and sprung forwards, impetuously pushing his horse against Cyrus, who, running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a flight of darts aimed at him from all sides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the instant all the rest discharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead : some say by the wound given him by the king ; others affirm, that he was killed by a Carian soldier. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, asserted, that he had given him the mortal stroke with a javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. The greatest persons of his court, resolving not to survive so good a master, were all killed around his body ; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to chuse his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmest of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as soon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mesabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopt there, but having passed thro' it, continued his retreat to the place, where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them, and by the side of the river, passed through the light-armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him passage, and made their discharge upon him as he passed without losing a man. They were commanded by Episthenes of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain. Tissaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it ;
but

but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who saved their baggage.

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The Greeks on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had passed elsewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the first, because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought with, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides. Tissaphernes upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their side learnt, that the king, in pursuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

The two armies were soon very near to each other, when by a movement made by the king, he seemed to design to attack the Greeks by their left, who fearing to be surrounded on all sides, wheeled about, and halted with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon seeing that, the king changed his form of battle also, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As soon as the Greeks saw him approach, they began to sing the hymn of battle, and advanced against the enemy even with more ardor than in the first action.

The Barbarians again took to their heels, ran farther than before, and were pursued to a village at the foot of an hill, upon which their horse halted. The king's standard was observed to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike having its wings displayed. The Greeks, preparing to pursue them, they abandoned also the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops, broke, and in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus, having drawn up

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up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias the Syracusian, and another to ascend it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemies fled on all sides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprized, that neither Cyrus, nor any one from him, appeared; and imagining, that he was either engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place, for they were still ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the rest of his army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, and found the greatest part of the baggage taken, with all the provisions, and four hundred waggons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expressly caused to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in case of any pressing necessity. They passed the night in the camp, the greatest part of them without any refreshment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

The success of this battle shews the superiority of valour and military knowledge to multitude without them. The small army of the Greeks did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen thousand men; but they were seasoned troops, disciplined, enured to fatigues, accustomed to confront dangers, sensible of glory and a good name, and who, during the long Peloponnesian war, had not wanted either time or means to acquire, and compleat themselves in, the art of war, and the methods of battle. Artaxerxes side was computed at a million of men; but they were soldiers only in name, without force, courage, discipline, experience, or any sense of honour. Hence it was, that as soon as the Greeks appeared, terror and disorder ensued amongst the enemy, and in the second action, Artaxerxes himself dared not wait their attack, but shamefully betook himself to flight.

Plutarch

Plutarch here blames Clearchus the general of the Greeks very much, and imputes to him, as an unpardonable neglect, his not having followed Cyrus's order, who recommended to him above all things to turn the attack upon Artaxerxes's person. This reproach seems groundless. It is not easy to conceive, how it was possible for that captain, who was posted in the right wing, to attack Artaxerxes immediately, who, in the centre of his own army, lay beyond the utmost extent of the enemy's front, as has been said before. It seems that Cyrus, depending as he did with great reason upon the valour of the Greeks, and desiring they should charge Artaxerxes in his post, ought to have placed them in the left wing, which answered directly to the place where he was; that is, to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the pursuit too warmly and too long. If after having put the left wing which opposed him into disorder, he had charged the rest of the enemy in flank, and had opened his way to the centre, where Artaxerxes was, it is highly probable, that he had gained a compleat victory, and placed Cyrus upon the throne. The six hundred horse of that prince's guard committed the same fault, and by pursuing too eagerly the body of troops they had put to flight, left their master almost alone, and abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; without considering, that they were chosen from the whole army for the immediate guard of his person, and for no other purpose whatsoever. Too much ardor is often prejudicial in a battle, and it is the duty of an able general to know how to restrain and direct it.

Cyrus himself erred highly in this respect, and abandoned himself too much to his blind passion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot, that there is a wide difference

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ference between a general and a private soldier. He ought not to have exposed himself, but as it was consistent with a prince; as the head, not the hand as the person who was to give orders, and not as those, who were to execute them.

I speak in this manner after the judges in the art of war, and would not chuse to pass my opinion without good authority upon things out of my sphere.

S E C T. III.

Elogy of Cyrus.

De exped.
Cyr. l. i. p.
266, 267.

XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus, and that not upon the credit of others, but from what he saw and knew in his own person. He was, says he, in the opinion of all that were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the most worthy of the supreme authority, and who had a soul the most noble, and the most truly loyal. From his infancy he surpassed all of his own age in every exercise, whether it were in managing the horse, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chase, in which he distinguished himself once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Those advantages were exalted in him by the nobleness of his air, an engaging aspect, and by all the graces of nature, that conduce to recommend merit.

Great
Phrygia
and Cap-
padocia.

When his father had made him satrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring provinces, his chief care was to make the people sensible, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to keep his word inviolably, not only with regard to publick treaties, but the most minute of his promises: a quality very rare amongst princes, and which however is the basis of all good government, and the source of their own, as well as their people's, happiness. Not only the places under his

his authority, but the enemy themselves, reposed an entire confidence in him.

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Whether good or ill were done him, he always desired to return it double, and that he might live no longer, (as he said himself) than whilst he surmounted his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever prince, that people were more afraid to offend, nor for whose sake they were more ready to hazard their possessions, lives, and fortunes.

Less intent upon being feared than beloved, his study was to make his greatness appear only where it was useful and beneficial, and to extinguish all other sentiments, but those which flow from gratitude and affection. He was industrious to do good upon all occasions, to confer his favours with judgment and in season, and to shew, that he thought himself rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others sensible of his being so by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhaust the means by an imprudent profusion. He did not * lavish, but distribute, his favours. He chose rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations, and that they should be subservient in promoting virtue, and not in supporting the soft and abject sloth of vice.

He was particularly pleased with conferring his favours upon valiant men, and governments and rewards were only bestowed on those, who had distinguished themselves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour, intrigue, or faction, but to merit only; upon which depends not only the glory but the success of governments. By that means he soon made virtue estimable, and the

* Habebit finum facilem, non nihil excidat. *Senec. de vit. beat.*
perforatum: ex quo multa exeant, c. 23.

purfuit of men, and rendered vice contemptible and horrid. The provinces, animated with a noble emulation to deferve, furnifhed him in a very fhort time with a confiderable number of excellent fubjects of every kind; which under a different government would have remained unknown, obfcure, and ufelefs.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better grace, or to win the hearts of thofe who could ferve him, with more engaging behaviour. As he was fully fenfible that he flood in need of the affiftance of others for the execution of his defigns, he thought, that juftice and gratitude required, that he fhould render his adherents all the fervices in his power. All the prefents which were made him, whether of fplendid arms, or rich apparel, he diftributed amongft his friends according to their feveral taftes or occasions, and ufed to fay, that the brighteft ornament, and moft exalted riches, of a prince confifted in adorning and enriching thofe who ferved him well. In effect, fays Xenophon, to do good to one's friends, and to excell them in liberality, does not feem fo admirable a thing in fo high a fortune; but to transcend them in goodnefs of heart and fentiments of friendship and affection, and to take more pleafure in conferring, than receiving, obligations; in this, I find Cyrus truly worthy of efteem and admiration. The firft of thefe advantages he derives from his rank; the other from himfelf, and his intrinfick merit.

By thefe extraordinary qualities he acquired the univerfal efteem and affection as well of the Greeks, as Barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here fays, is, that none ever quitted the fervice of Cyrus for the king's; whereas an infinity went over every day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of fuch as had moft credit at the court; becaufe they were all convinced, that Cyrus knew beft how to acknowledge and reward their fervices.

It is most certain, that young Cyrus did not want great virtues, and a superior merit; but I am surprised, that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has described only the most beautiful features, and such as are proper to incite our admiration of him, without saying the least word of his defects, and especially of that immoderate ambition, that was the soul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands against his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in an historian, whose chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their true and suitable colours, to relate at large an enterprize of such a nature without evidencing the least mark of dislike or imputation against it? But with the Pagans, ambition was so far from being considered as a vice, that it often passed for a virtue.

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S E C T. IV.

The king is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their arms. They resolve to die rather than surrender themselves. A treaty is made with them. Tissaphernes takes upon him to conduct them back to their own country. He treacherously seizes Clearchus and four other generals, who are all put to death.

THE Greeks, having learnt the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, sent deputies to Ariæus, the general of the Barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place, from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him, as victors, the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. At the same time arrived Persian heralds at arms from the king, to summon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they answered with an haughty air, that they talked a strange language to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them: That

Xenoph.
in exped.
Cyr. l. 2. p.
272—
292.
Diod. l. 14.
p. 255—
257.

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if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would serve him with fidelity and valour ; * but if he imagined to reduce them into slavery as vanquished, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themselves, and were determined to lose their lives and liberty together. The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where they were, they would be allowed a suspension of arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, and were asked by the heralds what answer they should report. Peace in continuing here, or war in marching, replied Clearchus, without explaining himself farther ; from the view of keeping the king always in suspense and uncertainty.

The answer of Ariæus to the Grecian deputies was, that there were many Persians more considerable than himself, who would not suffer him upon the throne, and that he should set out early the next day to return into Ionia ; that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from that time, as being the sole person of sufficient capacity ; for he had not been actually elected general in chief.

The night being come, Mithocytes the Thracian, who commanded forty horse, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and surrendered himself to the king ; the rest of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived about midnight at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in his tent, where they swore alliance with him ; and the Barbarian, under-

* Sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 46.

took to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they sacrificed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipt their swords, and the Barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

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Arizæus did not think it proper to return by the same rout they came, because, having found nothing for their subsistence the last seventeen days of their march, they must have suffered much more, had they taken the same way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at first; in order to evade the king's pursuit; which they could not effect. Towards the evening, when they were not far from some villages where they proposed to halt, the scouts came in with advice, that they had seen several equipages and convoys, which made it reasonable to judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they stood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before the sun's rising, drew up in the same order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who sent heralds, not to demand, as before, the surrendry of their arms, but to propose peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival, at the time he was employed in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed purposely an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the same time to shew the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most shewy of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose; he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because the army being in want of provisions, had no time to lose. The heralds having carried back this answer to their master, returned immediately; which shewed, that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was

not very distant. They said, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The army staid there three days, during which, Tissaphernes arrived from the king, with the queen's brother and three other Persian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domesticks. After having saluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and seeing them engaged in dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themselves, he had used his good offices with the king, to obtain permission to re-conduct them into their own country ; being convinced, that neither themselves, nor their cities, would ever be unmindful of that favour : That the king, without having declared himself positively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what cause they had taken arms against him ; and he advised them to make the king such an answer, as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them service. “ We call the gods “ to witness,” replied Clearchus, “ that we did not “ lift ourselves to make war with the king, or to “ march against him. Cyrus, concealing his true “ motives under different pretexts, brought us al- “ most hither without explaining himself, the better “ to surprize you. And when we saw him enga- “ ged in dangers, we thought it infamous to aban- “ don him, after the favours we had received from “ him. But as he is dead, we are released from “ our engagement, and neither desire to contest the “ crown with Artaxerxes, nor to ravage his coun- “ try ; provided he does not oppose our return. “ But if we are attacked, we shall endeavour, with “ the assistance of the gods, to make a good de- “ fence, and shall not be ungrateful in regard to “ those, who render us any service.” Tissaphernes returned,

returned, that he would let the king know what they said, and bring back his answer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks some anxiety : he however arrived on the third, and told them, that after much controversy, he had at length obtained the king's grace for them. For, that it had been represented to the king, that he ought not to suffer people to return with impunity into their country, who had been so insolent to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," said he, "you may now assure yourselves of not finding any obstacle to your return, and of being supplied with provisions, or suffered to buy them ; and you may judge, that you are to pass without committing any disorders in your march, and that you are to take only what is necessary ; provided you are not furnished with it." These conditions were sworn to on both sides. Tissaphernes, and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains in token of amity. After which Tissaphernes withdrew, to dispose his affairs ; promising to return as soon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his government.

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Arizæus, who received frequent visits from his brothers, and other relations, as did the officers of his army from the Persians of the different party ; who assured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the past ; so that the friendship of Arizæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them cause of uneasiness. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and said to them, "What do we here any longer ? Are we not sensible, that the king desires to see us all perish ; that others may be terrified by our example ? Perhaps he keeps us waiting here, till he re-assembles his dispersed troops, or sends to seize the passes in our way ; for he will never suffer

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“ suffer our return into Greece, to divulge our own
“ glory and his shame.” Clearchus made answer
to this discourse, that to depart without consulting
the king, was to break with him, and to declare
war by violating the treaty ; that they should
remain without a conductor in a country where no
body would supply them with provisions ; that Ari-
æus would abandon them ; and that even their friends
would become their enemies ; that he did not know,
but there might be other rivers to pass, and that,
though the Euphrates were the only one, they could
not get over it, were the passage ever so little dis-
puted. That if it were necessary to come to a bat-
tle, they should find themselves without cavalry
against an enemy, that had a very numerous and
excellent body of horse ; so that if they gained the
victory, they could make no great advantage of it,
and if they were overcome, they were utterly and
irretrievably lost. “ Besides, why should the king,
“ who has so many other means to destroy us, en-
“ gage his word only to violate it, and thereby ren-
“ der himself execrable in the sight of gods and
“ men ?”

Tissaphernes however arrived with his troops, in
order to return into his government, and they set
forwards all together under the conduct of that sa-
trap, who supplied them with provisions. Ariæus
with his troops encamped with the Barbarians, and
the Greeks separately at some distance, which kept
up a mutual distrust amongst them. Besides which,
there happened frequent quarrels for wood or forage,
that augmented their aversion for each other. After
three days march, they arrived at the wall of Me-
dia, which is an hundred foot high, twenty broad,
and twenty leagues in extent, all built of bricks,
bound together with bitumen, like the walls of Ba-
bylon, from which it was not very distant at one of
its extremities. When they had passed it, they
marched eight leagues in two days, and came to the
river

*Twenty
Parasangs.*

river Tygris, after having crost two of its canals, which had been cut expressly for watering the country. They then passed the * Tygris upon a bridge of twenty seven boats near Sitacum, a very great and populous city. After four days march they arrived at another city also very powerful, called Opis. They found there a bastard brother of Artaxerxes with a very considerable body of troops, which he was bringing from Susa and Ecbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having passed the deserts of Media, they came after a march of six days, to a place called the lands of Parysatis; the revenues of which appertained to that princess. Tissaphernes, to insult the memory of her son Cyrus so dearly beloved by her, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the desert on the side of the Tygris, which they had on their left, they arrived at Cænæ, a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occasions of distrust encreased every day between the Greeks and Barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation once for all with Tissaphernes. He began with observing upon the sacred and inviolable nature of the treaties subsisting between them. "A man," said he, "conscious of the guilt of perjury, can he be capable of living at ease! How would he shun the wrath of the gods, the witnesses of treaties, and escape their vengeance whose power is universal?" He added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged by their own interest to continue faithful to him, and that, by renouncing

* The march of the Greeks and the rest of the army, from the day after the battle till the passing of the Tygris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obscurities, which require a long dissertation to explain them fully. My plan does not admit me to enter into such discussions, which I must therefore refer to those who are more able than me.

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his alliance, they must first inevitably renounce not only all religion, but reason and common sense. Tissaphernes seemed to relish this discourse, and spoke to him with all the appearance of the most perfect sincerity; insinuating at the same time, that some persons had done him bad offices with him. If you will bring your officers hither, said he, I will shew you those, who have wronged you in their representations. He kept him to supper, and professed more friendship for him than ever.

The next day Clearchus proposed in the assembly, to carry the several commanders of the troops along with him to Tissaphernes. He suspected Menon in particular, whom he knew to have had a secret conference with the satrap in the presence of Ariæus; besides which, they had already had several differences with each other. Some objected, that it was not proper that all the generals should go to Tissaphernes, and that it did not consist with prudence to rely implicitly upon the professions of a Barbarian. But Clearchus continued to insist upon what he had moved, till it was agreed, that the four other commanders, with twenty captains, and about two hundred foldiers, under the pretext of buying provisions in the Persian camp, where there was a market, should be sent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tissaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, were suffered to enter, but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain signal before agreed on, those within were seized, and the others put to the sword. Some Persian horse afterwards scoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or slaves. Clearchus, with the other generals, was sent to the king, who ordered their heads to be struck off. Xenophon has largely enough distinguished upon the characters of those officers.

Clearchus

Clarchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and fit for the forming of great enterprizes. His courage was not rash, but regulated by prudence, and he retained all his cool temper and presence of mind in the midst of the greatest dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him ; but out of fear. His mien was awful and severe ; his language rough, his punishments instant and rigorous : He gave way sometimes to passion, but presently came to himself, and always chastised with justice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without a severe discipline, and from him came the saying, that a soldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy. The troops * esteemed his valour, and did justice to his merit ; but they were afraid of his humour, and did not love to serve under him. In a word, says Xenophon, the soldiers feared him as scholars do a severe pædagogus. We may say of him with Tacitus, that by an excess of severity he made, what had otherwise been well done by him, unaimable : *Cupidine severitatis in his etiam, quæ ritè faceret acerbis.*

Tacit. Annal. c. 75.

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aspired at great things, and was industrious to make himself capable of them. He spared no means for attainment of instruction, and was the disciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetorician, who sold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himself capable of commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being served by them, he entered into Cyrus's service with the view of advancing himself thereby. He did not want ambition, but would take no other road to glory than that of virtue. He had been a perfect captain, had he had none but brave and disciplined

* Manebat admiratio viri et fama ; sed oderant. Tacit. Histor. l. 2 c. 68.

men to deal with, and it had been only necessary to be beloved. He was more apprehensive of being ill with his soldiers, than his soldiers with him. He thought it sufficient for a commander to praise good actions, without chastising bad ones; for which reason he was beloved by the worthy; but those of a different character abused his facility. He died at thirty years of age.

* Could the two great persons, we have here drawn after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, something perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their several defects, and retaining only their virtues: But it rarely happens, that the same man, † as Tacitus says of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, sometimes with gentleness, and sometimes with severity, without lessening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter.

Menon was a Thessalian, avaritious and ambitious; but ambitious only from the motive of avarice; seeking honour and estimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendship of the great, and of persons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injustice and oppression with impunity. To obtain his ends, all means with him were virtue; falsehood, fraud, perjury; whilst sincerity, and integrity of heart stood in his scheme for weakness and stupidity. He loved nobody; and if he professed friendship, it was only to deceive. As others made their glory consist in piety, probity, and religion, he valued himself upon injustice, deceit and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by false reports, whispering, and calumny; and that of the soldiery by licence and

* Egregium principatus temperamentum, si, demptis utriusque vitiis, solæ virtutes miscerentur. *Tacit. Histor. l. 2. c. 5.*

† Pro variis temporibus ac

negotiiis severas et comis—nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem, diminuit. *Tacit. in Agric. c. 9.*

impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himself terrible by the mischief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured those to whom he did none.

It was in my thoughts to have retrenched these characters, which interrupt the thread of the history. But as they are a lively image of the manners of men, which in all times are the same, I thought retaining them would neither be useless nor offensive to the reader.

S E C T. V.

Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from the province of Babylon to Trebisond.

THE generals of the Greeks having been seized, and the officers who attended them having been massacred, the troops were in the highest consternation. They were five or six hundred leagues from Greece, surrounded with great rivers and enemy nations, without any supplies of provisions. In the general dejection, occasioned by their condition, they could not think of taking either nourishment or repose. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity superior to his years, went to some of the officers, and represented to them, that they had no time to lose; that it was of the last importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that, however small their number, they would render themselves formidable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution; that valour and not multitude determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary above all things to nominate generals immediately; because an army without commanders is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were present, and Xenophon, being desired to speak, deduced at large the reasons, upon which he had at first but

Xenoph.
in exped.
Cyr. l. 3
& 4.

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but lightly touched ; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongst the rest. “ Fellow soldiers” said he, “ the loss of so many brave men by
“ vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our
“ friends, is very deplorable : But we must not
“ sink under our misfortunes, and, if we cannot
“ conquer, let us chuse rather to perish gloriously,
“ than to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, who
“ would inflict upon us the most extreme miseries.
“ Let us call to mind the glorious battles of Plataea, Thermopylae, Salamin, and the many others
“ wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable
“ armies of the Persians, and thereby rendered the
“ name alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is
“ to their invincible valour we owe the honour, we
“ possess, of acknowledging no masters upon earth
“ but the gods, nor any happiness but what consists
“ with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy’s treason, will
“ be favourable to us ; and as they are attacked in
“ the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in
“ humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they
“ will also follow us to battle, and combat for us.
“ For the rest, comrades, as we have no refuge but
“ in victory, which must be our hope, and will
“ make us ample amends for whatever it costs to
“ attain it. I should believe, if it were your opinion, that, for the making a more prompt and
“ less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to
“ rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to
“ keep only what is absolutely necessary in the
“ march.” All the soldiers that moment lifted up
their hands to signify their approbation and consent

to all that had been said, and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages; those of them who had too much equipage giving it others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

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It was resolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not opposed; but otherwise to open themselves a passage sword in hand through the enemy. They began their march in the form of a great hollow square with the baggage in the midst of it. Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian, had the vanguard; two of the oldest captains the right and left; and Timasion with Xenophon were posted in the rear, as the youngest officers. The first day was rude; because, having neither horse nor slingers, they were extremely harassed by a detachment sent against them: But they provided against that inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They chose two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with slings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Persians, because they discharged balls of lead, and the others made use of large flints. They mounted also a squadron of fifty men upon the horses intended for the baggage, and supplied their places with other beasts of burden. By the means of this supply a second detachment of the enemy were very severely handled.

After some days march, Tissaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himself with harassing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter observing the difficulty of retreating in an hollow square in the face of the enemy, from the unevenness of ground, hedges, and other obstacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the space between them. They formed a body of reserve of six hundred chosen men, whom they divided

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ded into six companies, and sub-divided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according to occasion. When the columns came close to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both sides, to avoid disorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void space in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occasion of attack they immediately ran where it was necessary. The Greeks stood several charges, but they were neither considerable, nor attended with much loss.

They arrived at the river Tygris. As its depth would not admit them to repass it without boats, they were obliged to cross the Carducian mountains, because there was no other way, and the prisoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might pass the Tygris at its source, and afterwards the Euphrates not very distant from it. To gain those defiles before the enemy could seize them, it was thought proper to set forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chirisophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with missile weapons, besides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed soldiers, because at that time there was nothing to fear on that side. The inhabitants of the country had taken possession of several of the heights, from whence it was necessary to drive them, which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beasts of burden not absolutely necessary, with all the slaves lately taken; because both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to pass; besides which, it required a greater quantity of provisions to support them, and that those, who had the care

of

of the beasts, were useless in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, sometimes fighting and sometimes halting. The passing of the mountains, which took up seven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occasioned some loss; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found provisions in abundance, and rested some days, to recover the severe fatigues the army had suffered; in comparison with which all they had undergone in Persia was trivial.

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They found themselves soon after exposed to new danger. Almost at the foot of the mountains they came to a river, called Centrites, two hundred foot in breadth, which stopped their march. They had to defend themselves from the enemy, who pursued them in the rear, and from the Armenians, the soldiers of the country, who defended the opposite side of the river. They attempted in vain to pass it in a place, where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, against which the weight of their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune they discovered another place not so deep; where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both sides of them. The army however passed the river at length without much loss.

They marched afterwards with less interruption; passed the sources of the Tygris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia; which was governed by Tiribastus, a satrap much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to * mount on horseback

* The French translator of Xenophon says, he held the king's stirrup when he got on horseback, without considering, that the ancients used none.

+

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when at the court : He offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition, that they should commit no ravages in their march ; which proposal was accepted and ratified on each side. Tiribafus kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow, which gave the troops some inconvenience ; and they learnt from a prisoner, that Tiribafus had a design to attack the Greeks at a pass of the mountains, in a defile, through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days march through deserts, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration ; so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, which seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six foot deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burden, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they marched through the snow, when many of them from the excess of hunger, followed with languor or fainting, continued lying upon the ground without strength or vigour. When something had been given them to eat, they found themselves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy still pursued them, of whom many, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or provisions, so that several died of their hardships, and the enemy who followed them took some baggage. Some soldiers were also left behind, that had lost their sight, and others their toes by the snow. Against the first evil it was good to wear something black before the eyes ; and against the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious

dious place, they dispersed themselves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repose after their fatigues. The houses were built under-ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the descent was by a ladder ; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there, sheep, cows, goats, poultry ; with wheat, barley, and pulse ; and for drink, there was beer, which was very strong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to those who were used to it. They drank this with a reed out of the vessels that held the beer, upon which they saw the barley swim. The master of the house where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even shewed him where he had concealed some wine ; besides which he made him a present of several horses. He taught him also to affix a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the same to the other beasts of burden, to prevent their sinking in the snow ; without which they would have been up to the girth in it at every step. The army after having rested seven days in these villages, resumed their rout.

After a march of seven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phafus, which is about an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the pass of the mountains, to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day. Xenophon, who had observed, that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending of a detachment to take possession of the heights, that commanded the enemy ; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the Barbarians.

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-This was accordingly executed; the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared.

They crossed the country of the Chalybes, who are the most valiant of all the Barbarians in those parts. When they killed any one, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, singing and dancing. They kept themselves close shut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell suddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of safety. After twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they descryed the sea. The first who perceived it, raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time; which made Xenophon imagine, that the vanguard was attacked, and go with all haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *the sea! the sea!* was heard distinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety, and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, *the sea! the sea!* who could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Cholchis, one of which was higher than the rest, and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to ascend, for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files; because the soldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in some places was easy, and in others difficult, to climb; which might discourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourscore files, each consisting

of

of about an hundred men ; with eighteen hundred light-armed soldiers, divided in three bodies ; one of which was posted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the center. After having encouraged his troops by representing to them, that this was the last obstacle he had to surmount, and implored the assistance of the gods, the army began to mount the hill. The enemy were not able to support their charge, and dispersed. They passed the mountain, and encamped in villages, where they found provisions in abundance.

A very strange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great consternation. For the soldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits ; so that those, who were least ill, seemed like drunken men, and the rest, either furiously mad, or dying. The earth was strewed with their bodies, as after a defeat ; however none of them died, and the distemper ceased the next day about the same hour, it had taken them. The third or fourth day the soldiers got up, but in the condition people are after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebisond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, situate upon the Euxine or Black sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themselves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country. They also celebrated there the games of the horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, the pancratium ; the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity.

S E C T. VI.

The Greeks, after having undergone excessive fatigues, and surmounted many dangers, arrive upon the coast of the sea over against Byzantium. They pass the strait, and engage in the service of Seuthes prince of Thrace. Xenophon afterwards re-passes the sea, marches to Pergamus, and joins Thimbron general of the Lacedæmonians, who goes against Tissaphernes and Pharnabafus.

Xenoph.
l. 3.

AFTER having offered sacrifices to the several divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper measures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by sea, and for that purpose Chirisophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to obtain ships of him. He set out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was necessary to observe, and the precautions to be taken for the security of the camp, provisions, and forage. He believed it also proper to make sure of some vessels, exclusively of those that were expected; and made some expeditions against the neighbouring people.

As Chirisophus did not return so soon as was expected, and provisions began to be wanting, it was resolved to proceed by land; because there was not a sufficient number of ships to transport the whole army, and those, which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and sick men, with all the unnecessary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at * Cerasus, where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thou-

* The city of Cerasus became famous for the cherry-trees, which Lucullus first brought into Italy, and which from thence have been dispersed all over the western world.

and six hundred men out of about ten thousand; the rest having died in the retreat, of their wounds, ARTAX.
MNEEMON.
 fatigues, or diseases.

In the small time the Greeks continued in these parts, several divisions arose, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with some of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wisdom and moderation put a stop to those disorders; having made the soldiers sensible, that their safety depended upon preserving union and good understanding amongst themselves, and obedience to their generals.

From Cerasus they went to Cotoyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper measures for their return. The inhabitants of the country represented the almost insuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to pass, and offered to supply the Greeks with ships. This seemed the best expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Milesians. Chirifophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, though the troops expected to receive some. He assured them that the army should be paid, as soon as they were out of the Euxine sea, and that their retreat was universally celebrated, and the subject of the discourse and admiration of all Greece.

The soldiers, finding themselves near enough to Greece, desired to make some booty before they arrived there, and with that view resolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They cast their eyes upon Xenophon, and caused him to be desired to accept that office. He was not insensible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foresaw the consequences, and desired time to consider. After having expressed

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the highest sense of gratitude for an offer so much to his honour; he represented, that to avoid jealousy and division, the success of affairs, and the interest of the army, seemed to require, that they should chuse a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan state being at that time actually mistress of Greece, and in consideration of that choice, would be disposed to support them. This reason was not relished, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a servile dependence upon Sparta, or to submit to regulate their enterprizes by the pleasure or dislike of that state; and pressed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himself sincerely, and without evasion, and declared, that having consulted the gods by sacrifice, upon the offer they made him, they had manifested their will by evident signs, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was surprizing to see the impression, which the sole mention of the gods made upon the soldiers, otherwise very warm and tenacious; and who besides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardor abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chirifophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Discord, as Xenophon had foreseen, arose amongst the troops, who were angry, that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they passed. This disturbance was principally excited by the Peloponnesians, who composed one half of the army, and saw with pain Xenophon an Athenian in authority. Different measures were proposed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themselves into three bodies, of which the Achæians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponnesians, were the principal, amounting to four thousand five hundred heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chirifophus commanded another

another party of about fourteen hundred men, besides seven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almost the same in number, of which three hundred were light-armed soldiers, with about forty horse, which were all the cavalry of the army. The first having obtained ships from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had sent to demand them, * *A city of Pontus.* set out before the rest to make some booty, and made a descent in the port of Calpe. Chirifophus, who was sick, marched by land; but without quitting the coast. Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New divisions arose. The imprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in ill measures, not without loss, from whence the address of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all re-united again, after various success, they arrived by land at Chrysopolis in Caledonia, over against Byzantium, whither they repaired some days after, having passed the small arm of the sea which separates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themselves once for all, when Xenophon ran thither. He admitted the justness of their revenge, but he made them sensible of the fatal consequences which would attend it. “ After your pillaging this city, “ and destroying the Lacedæmonians established in “ it, you will be deemed the mortal enemies of “ their republick, and of all their allies. Athens “ my country, that had four hundred galleys at “ sea and in the arsenals, when it took up arms “ against them, great sums of money in its treasury, a revenue of a thousand talents, and was in “ possession of all the isles of Greece, and of many “ cities in Europe and Asia, of which this was one, “ has nevertheless been reduced to yield to their “ power, and submit to their sway. And do you “ hope,

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“ hope, who are but an handful of men, without
 “ generals, provisions, allies, or any resource either
 “ from Tissaphernes, who has betrayed you, or the
 “ king of Persia, whom you have attempted to
 “ dethrone ; can you hope, I say, in such a condi-
 “ tion to make head against the Lacedæmonians ?
 “ Let us demand satisfaction to be made us, and
 “ not avenge the fault of the Byzantines by a much
 “ greater crime of our own, which must draw up-
 “ on us inevitable ruin.” He was believed, and
 the affair accommodated.

Xenoph.
l. 7.

From thence he led them to Salmydessâ, to serve
 Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had before solicited
 him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in or-
 der to his re-establishment in his father's dominions,
 of which his enemies had deprived him. He had
 made Xenophon great promises for himself and his
 troops ; but when they had done him the service he
 had occasion for, he was so far from keeping his
 word, that he did not give them the pay agreed up-
 on. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with
 this breach of faith ; imputing his perfidy to his mi-
 nister Heraclides, who thought to make his court
 to his master, by saving him a sum of money at the
 expence of justice, faith, and honesty ; qualities
 which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince,
 as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well
 as to the success of affairs, and the security of a state.
 But that treacherous minister, who looked upon ho-
 nour, probity, and justice, to be mere chimæra's,
 and that there was nothing real but the possession of
 much money, had no thoughts in effect, but of in-
 riching himself by any means whatsoever, and rob-
 bed his master the first with impunity, and all
 his subjects along with him. “ However,” con-
 tinues Xenophon, “ every wise man, especially
 “ in authority and command, ought to regard jus-
 “ tice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as
 “ the

“ the most precious treasure he can possess ; and
 “ as an assured resource, and an infallible support
 “ in all the events that can happen.” Heraclides
 was the more in the wrong for acting in this man-
 ner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of
 Greece, and not a Thracian ; but avarice had extin-
 guished in him all sense of honour.

Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xeno-
 phon was warmest, Charminus and Polynices arri-
 ved, as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought
 advice, that the republick had declared war against
 Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus ; that Thimbron had
 already embarked with the troops, and promised a
 darick a month to every soldier, two to each officer,
 and four to the colonels, as should engage in the ser-
 vice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having ob-
 tained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the am-
 bassadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by
 sea to Lampsacus with the army, which amounted at
 that time to almost six thousand men. From thence
 he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of
 Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended
 the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman re-
 turning into Persia, he took him, his wife and chil-
 dren, with all his equipage, and by that means found
 himself in a condition to bestow great liberalities
 amongst the soldiers, and to make them a satisfacto-
 ry amends for all the losses they had sustained.
 Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him
 the command of the troops, and having joined them
 with his own, marched against Tissaphernes and
 Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xeno-
 phon reckons from the first setting out of that
 prince's army from the city of Ephesus to their arri-
 val, where the battle was fought, five hundred and
 thirty parasangas or leagues, and fourscore and thir-
 teen days march ; and in their return from the
 place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coast of
 the

ARTAX.
 MNEMON.

Xenoph.
 de exped.
 Cyr. l. 2.
 p. 276.

Id. l. 3.
 p. 355.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

the Euxine or Black sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas or leagues, and an hundred and twenty days march. And adding both together, he says, the way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty * five parasangas or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days march, and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

Xenoph.

I.7. P.427.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almost six parasangas † or leagues in going, and only five in their return. It was natural, that Cyrus, who desired to surprize his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed amongst the judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, for a perfect model in its kind, and never had a pallel. Indeed no enterprize could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country, who have lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire,

* I add, five, which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.

† The Parasanga is a measure of the ways peculiar to the Persians, and consists of three stadia. The stadium is the same with the Greeks, and contains, according to the most received opinion, one hundred and twenty five geometrical paces; twenty of which in consequence are required to the common French league. And this has been my rule hitherto, according to which the Parasanga is a league and a half.

I observe here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find, the

ordinary days-marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than an hundred thousand men, would have been one day with another nine leagues, during so long a time; which according to the judges in military affairs is absolutely impossible. This is what has determined me to compute the Parasanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the stadium, and all the other measures of ways of the antients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do amongst us.

undertake, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army, with their king at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the gates of his palace, and to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers, to which they were every moment liable; passes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades from the people upon their rout; famine, almost inevitable in vast and desert regions; and above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops, who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their country would cover him with disgrace, and decry the majesty of the empire in the sense of all people, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, with more passion, than he had to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve the sovereignty of his estates. Those ten thousand men however, notwithstanding so many obstacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own country. Anthony long after, when pursued by the Parthians almost in the same country, finding himself in like danger, cryed out in admiration of their invincible valour, *Ob the retreat of the ten thousand!*

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

Plut in
Anto. p.
937.
Ω μύριοι.

And it was the good success of this famous retreat, which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonstrating to them, that gold, silver, luxury, voluptuousness, and a numerous seraglio of women, were the sole merit of the grand monarch; but that, as to the rest, his opulence and all his boasted power were only pride and vain ostentation. It was this prejudice, more universal than ever in Greece after this celebrated expedition, which gave birth to those bold enterprizes of the Greeks,

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

Greeks, we shall soon treat of, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne, and brought the Persian empire to the very brink of destruction.

S E C T. VII.

Consequences of Cyrus's death in the court of Artaxerxes. Cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis. Statira poisoned.

Plut. in
Artax. p.
1018—
1021.

I Return to what passed after the battle of Cunaxa in the court of Artaxerxes. As he believed, that he killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the most glorious of his life, he desired, that all the world should think the same; and it was wounding him in the most tender part, to dispute that honour, or endeavour to divide it, with him. The Carian soldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great presents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himself had killed Cyrus, and that the king did him great injustice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being informed of that insolence, conceived a jealousy equally base and cruel, and had the weakness to cause him to be delivered to Parysatis, who had sworn the destruction of all those that had any share in the death of her son. Animated by her barbarous revenge, she commanded the executioners to take that unfortunate wretch, and to make him suffer the most exquisite tortures during ten days; then after they had tore out his eyes, to pour molten brass into his ears, till he expired in that cruel misery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates also, having boasted in an entertainment where he had heated his brain with wine, that it was he gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear

dear for that sottish and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to suffer the punishment of the ARTAX. MNEMON
 * troughs, one of the most cruel that was ever invented, and after having languished in torment during seventeen days, he died at last with great difficulty.

There only remained, for the final execution of her project, and fully to satiate her vengeance, the punishment of the king's eunuch Mefabates, who by his master's order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, Parysatis laid this snare for him. She was a woman of great address, had abundance of wit, and excelled in playing at a certain game with dice. After the war, she had been reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaisance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, prevented his desires, did not blush at indulging his passions, and even at supplying him with the means of gratifying them. But she took especial care never to lose sight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as she could, desiring to gain the absolute ascendant of her son's disposition.

One day seeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but to divert himself, she proposed to him to play at dice for a thousand daricks, with which he readily complied. She suffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, she pressed him to begin again, and to play with her for an eunuch. The king, who suspected nothing, consented, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each side, that the winner should take their choice out of the rest, and the loser be bound to deliver him. Having made these conditions, they sat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made use of her

*The darick
was worth
ten livres.*

* See the description of this torture in the third volume of this history.

CHAPTER III.

THE principal contents of this chapter are the enterprizes of the Lacedæmonians in Asia minor, their defeat at Cnidos, the re-establishment of the walls and power of Athens, the famous peace of Antalcides, prescribed the Greeks by Artaxerxes Mnemon, the wars of that prince against Evagoras king of Cyprus, and the Cadusians. The persons, who are most conspicuous in this place, are Lysander and Agesilaus on the side of the Lacedæmonians, and Conon on that of the Athenians.

S E C T. I.

The Grecian cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians against Artaxerxes. Rare prudence of a lady continued in her husband's government after his death. Agesilaus elected king of Sparta. His character.

Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
1.3. p. 479
—487.

A. M.
3605.
Ant. J. C.
599.

THE cities of Ionia, that had taken party with Cyrus, apprehending the resentment of Tissaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians, as the deliverers of Greece, for their support in the possession of the liberty they enjoyed, and that they would prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already said that Thimbron was sent thither, to whose troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Persia. Thimbron was soon recalled upon some discontent, and had for his successor Dercyllidas, surnamed Sisyphus, from his industry in finding resources, and his capacity in inventing and applying machines of war. He took upon him the command of the army at Ephesus. When he arrived there, he was apprized, that there

was

had in the friendships and careſſes of the court, eſpecially amongſt the women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the ſame fears always ſubſiſting, they kept upon their guard, and never eat but of the ſame diſhes and pieces. Could one believe it poſſible to deceive ſo attentive and cautious a vigilance? Paryſatis one day, when her daughter in law was at table with her, took an extremely exquisite bird, that had been ſerved up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and eat the other herſelf. Statira ſoon after was ſeized with ſharp pains, and having quitted the table, died in the moſt horrible convulſions, not without inſpiring the king with the moſt violent ſuſpicions of his mother, of whoſe cruelty, and implacable and revengeful ſpirit, he was ſufficiently ſenſible before. He made the ſtricteſt enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domeſticks were ſeized, and put to the queſtion; when Gygis, one of Paryſatis's women and confident, confeſſed the whole. She had cauſed one ſide of a knife to be rubbed with poiſon, ſo that Paryſatis, having cut the bird in two, put the ſound part into her mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poiſoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner the Perſians puniſh priſoners, which is thus: They lay their heads upon a great, and very broad ſtone, and beat upon it with another till the head is entirely cruſhed, and has no remains of its former figure. As for Paryſatis, the king contented himſelf with confining her to Babylon, where ſhe demanded to retire, and told her, that he would never ſet his foot within it whiſt ſhe was there.

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MNEMON.

ed Pharnabafus's province, and advanced as far as Æolis.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province under the fatrap's authority; and as after his death it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabafus with troops and presents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man, who had rendered him great services, she desired him not to deprive her of her husband's reward; that she would serve him with the same zeal and fidelity; and that, if she failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herself with all the judgment and ability, that could have been expected from the most consummate person in the arts of ruling. To the ordinary tributes, which her husband had paid, she added presents of an extraordinary magnificence, and when Pharnabafus came into her province, she entertained him more splendidly than any of the other governours. She was not contented with the conservation of the cities committed to her care, she made new conquests, and took Lariffa, Amaxita, and Colona.

*From the
Lydians
and Pisidians.*

Hence we may observe, that prudence, good sense, and courage, are of all sexes. She was present in all expeditions in a chariot, and in person appointed rewards and punishments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than her's, in which she had a great number of Greek soldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabafus in all his enterprizes, and was of no common support to him. So that the fatrap, who knew all the value of so extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady, than to all the other governours. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with such a distinction, as might have excited jealousy, if the modesty and affability of that lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing in a manner

manner a veil over all her perfections, which softened their lustre, and let them only appear to be the objects of admiration. ARTAX.
MNEMON.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias, her son-in-law, galled with the reproach of suffering a woman to command in his place, and abusing the entire confidence she reposed in him, which gave him access to her at all times, strangled her with her son. After her death he seized two strong places, wherein she had secured her treasures; the other cities declared against him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dercyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortresses of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, surrendered to him, and Midias was deprived of the possessions he had so unjustly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general having granted Pharnabazus a truce, took up his winter quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

The next year, being continued in the command, he marched into Thrace, and arrived at the Chersonesus. He knew, that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta to represent the necessity of fortifying the Isthmus with a good wall against the frequent incursions of the Barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having measured the space, which is more than a league in breadth, he distributed the work amongst the soldiers, and the wall was finished in the autumn of the same year. Within this space were inclosed eleven cities, several ports, a great number of arable lands, and plantations, with pasture of all kinds. The work being finished, he returned into Asia, after having reviewed the cities, and found them all in good condition. A. M. 3606.
Ant. J. C. 398.
Xenoph. P. 487,
488.

Conon the Athenian, after losing the battle of Ægospotamos, having condemned himself to a voluntary banishment, continued in the isle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the safety of his Plut. in
Artax. P. 1021.

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MNEMON.

person, but in expectation of a change in affairs; as one, says Plutarch, who waits the return of the tide before he embarks. He had always in view the re-establishment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given a mortal wound, equally filled with fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, and always meditating the means to raise it from its ruins, and restore it to its antient splendor.

This Athenian general, knowing the success of the designs in his thoughts had occasion for a powerful support, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his scheme, and ordered the person who carried his letter, to apply himself to Ctesias, who would give it to the king. It was accordingly delivered to that physician, who, it is said, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had wrote, *that he desired the king would send Ctesias to him, being a person very capable of his service, especially in maritime affairs.*

Diod. l. 14.
p. 267.
Justin. l. 6.
c. 1.

500000
crowns.

Pharnabazus, in concert with Conon, went to court to complain against the conduct of Tissaphernes; as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm instances of Pharnabazus, the king ordered five hundred talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give Conon the command of it. He sent Ctesias into Greece, who, after having visited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

Strab. l. 14.
p. 656.
Jul. in
Artax. p.
1014—
1017—
1020.

Diod. l. 14.
p. 273.

Aristot. de
hist. anim.
l. 8. c. 28.

Phot. Cod.
LXII.

This Ctesias was at first in the service of Cyrus, whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken prisoner in the battle, wherein Cyrus was killed, and was made use of to dress the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of which he acquitted himself so well, that the king retained him in his service, and made him his first physician. He passed several years in his service in that quality. Whilst he was there, the Greeks, upon all their occasions at the court, applied themselves to him; as Conon did on this. His long residence in Persia, and

and at the court had given him the necessary time and means for his information in the history of the country, which he wrote in three and twenty books. The six first contained the history of the Assyrians and Babylonians from Ninus and Semiramis down to Cyrus. The other seventeen treated of the Persian affairs from the beginning of Cyrus's reign to the third year of the XCV olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote also an history of India. Photius has given us several extracts of both these histories, which are all that remain of Ctesias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs sometimes also with Xenophon. He was in no great estimation with the ancients, who speak of him as of a very vain man, whose veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables, and sometimes even lies, in his history.

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, though secretly A. M. each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders ^{3607.} united their troops, to oppose the enterprizes of ^{Ant. J. C.} Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had ^{397.} reduced him to take so disadvantageous a ground, ^{Xenoph.} that he must inevitably have perished, had they ^{hist. Græc.} charged him immediately, without giving him time ^{l. 3. p. 489} to make dispositions. Pharnabazus was of this opi- ^{—490.} nion: but Tissaphernes apprehending the valour of ^{Diod. l. 14. p. 267.} the Greeks, who had been of Cyrus's army, which he had experienced, and to whom he conceived all others resembled, proposed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded, that the Grecian cities should continue free, and Tissa- phernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon should retire; they made a truce, till the answers of their respective masters could be known.

Whilst these things passed in Asia, the Lacedæ- ^{Ibid. 292.} monians resolved to chastise the insolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Pe-

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loponnesian war, prevented their disputing the prizes in the olympick games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted their citizens during the games, and hindered Agis from sacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympicus. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city Olympia, which had no works, but contented himself with plundering the suburbs, and the places for the exercises, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were suffered to retain the superintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympicus, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than those who disputed it with him.

Xenoph. Agis in his return fell sick, and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almost divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of some days, according to custom, Leotychides and Agesilaus, the one son, and the other brother of the deceased, disputed the crown. The latter maintained, that his competitor was not the son of Agis, and supported his assertion by the confession of the queen herself, who knew best, and who had often, as well as her husband, acknowledged as much. In effect there was a current report, that she had him by Alcibiades, as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a present of a * thousand daricks. Agis protested the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himself at his feet all bathed in his tears, he could not refuse the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his son before all that were present.

Athen. 1.
12. P. 534.
* 1000
pistoles.

Most of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Agesilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a person for their king, who had been educated amongst them, who had

had passed like them through all the rigor of the Spartan education, supported him with their whole power. An antient oracle, that advised Sparta to beware of a lame reign, was urged against him. Lysander only made a jest of it, and turned its sense against Leotychides himself; endeavouring to prove, that as a bastard, he was the lame king the oracle intended to caution them against. Agesilaus as well by his own great qualities, as the powerful support of Lysander, carried it against his nephew, and was declared king.

As by the laws the kingdom devolved to Agis, his brother Agesilaus, who seemed to be destined to pass his life as a private person, had been bred up like other children in the Spartan discipline, that was a very rough manner of life, and full of laborious exercise, but * taught youth obedience perfectly well. The law dispensed with this education only to such children, as were designed for the throne. Agesilaus therefore had this in peculiar, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had first learnt perfectly well how to obey. From thence it came, that of all the kings of Sparta he best knew how to make his subjects love and esteem him: † because that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for commanding, and the sovereignty, had acquired from his education, the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is surprizing that Sparta, a city so renown'd in point of education and policy, should conceive it proper to abate any thing of its severity of discipline,

* Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta, the tamer of men, *δευσιπύροτος*, as that of the Grecian cities, which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the most active and vigorous, and at the same time the most obe-

dient to the laws of all mankind. *ὡς μάλις αὖ τῶν ἰδῶν τοὺς πε-
λίτας τοῖς νομοῖς πειθύνει καὶ χει-
ρόνους ποιεῖται.*

† Τὰ φύσει ἐγγενεῖα καὶ βασι-
λικῶ προσκτησάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγυ-
γῆς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ φιλόδυνον.

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& MNEMON.

in favour of the princes, who were to reign ; they having most need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being the better qualified to command.

In Agefil.
P. 596.

Plutarch observes, that from his infancy Agefil-
laus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himself,
which are generally incompatible ; a vivacity of
spirit, a vehemence, an invincible resolution in ap-
pearance, an ardent passion for being First, and
surpassing all others with a gentleness, submission,
and docility, that complied at a single word,
and made him infinitely sensible of the lightest re-
primand ; so that every thing might be obtained of
him from the motives of honour, but nothing by
fear or violence.

Plut. in
moral.
P. 55.

He was lame, but that defect was covered by the
gracefulness of his person, and still more, by the
gayety with which he supported and raillied it first
himself. It may even be said, that the infirmity of
his body set his valour and ardor for glory in a
stronger light ; there being no labour nor enter-
prize, however difficult, that he would refuse up-
on account of that inconvenience. Praise, without
an air of truth and sincerity, was so far from giving
him pleasure, that it offended him, and was never
received by him in that light, but when it came
from the mouths of those, who upon other occa-
sions had represented his failings to him with free-
dom. He would never suffer during his life that
his picture should be drawn, and even in dying,
expressly forbade any image to be made of him,
either in colours or relievo. His reason was, that

Id. p. 191.

his great actions, if he had done any, would supply
the place of monuments ; without which, all the
statues in the world would do him no manner of
honour. We only know, that he was of small
stature, which the Spartans did not affect in their
kings ; and Theophrastus affirms that the Ephori
laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father
of

him we speak of, for having espoused a very lit-
 woman : * *For*, said they, *she'll give us poppets*
Head of kings.

ASTAX.
 MNEMON.

It has been remarked, that Agesilaus, in his
 ay of living with the Spartans, behaved better
 ith regard to his enemies than his friends ; for he
 ver did the least wrong to the former, and often-
 olated justice in favour of the latter. He would
 ave been ashamed not to have honoured and re-
 arded his enemies, when their actions deserved it,
 nd was not able to reprove his friends, when they
 ommitted faults. He would even support them
 hen they were in the wrong, and upon such occa-
 ions looked upon the zeal for justice as a vain pre-
 ence to cover the refusal of serving them. And
 n proof of this, a short letter is cited, wrote by
 him to a judge in recommendation of a friend ; the
 words are : *If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for*
his innocence ; if he be, acquit him upon my account ;
but be it as it will, acquit him.

Plut. in
 Agefil. p.
 598.

Ibid. p.
 603.

*Spartan
 friendly*

It is understanding the rights and privileges of
 friendship very ill, to be capable of rendering it
 in this manner the accomplice of crimes, and the
 protectress of bad actions. It is the fundamental
 law of friendship, says Cicero, never to ask of, or
 grant any thing to, friends, that does not consist
 with justice and honour : *Hæc prima lex in amicitia*
fanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus
rogati.

Deamicit.
 n. 40.

Agesilaus was not so delicate in this point, at least
 in the beginning, and omitted no occasion of plea-
 sing his friends, and even his enemies. By this of-
 ficious and obliging conduct, supported by his ex-
 traordinary merit, he acquired great credit, and al-
 most absolute power in the city ; which ran so high
 as to render him suspected by his country. The
 Ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to

* Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς, ἴφιστοι, ἄμμοι, ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γινώσκει.

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MNEMON.

his ambition, laid a fine upon him ; alledging as their sole reason, *that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himself alone, which were the right of the republick, and ought not to be possessed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put into possession of the whole estate of his brother Agis, of which Leotychides was deprived as a bastard. But seeing the relations of that prince, on the side of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of generosity acquired great reputation, and the good-will of all the world, instead of the envy and hatred, he might have drawn upon himself, by the inheritance. This sort of sacrifices are very glorious, tho' rare ; their value, as I conceive, not being sufficiently known.

Never was king of Sparta so powerful as Agesilaus, and it was only, as Xenophon says, by obeying his country in every thing, that he acquired so great an authority ; which seems a kind of paradox, and is thus explained by Plutarch. The Ephori and senate had at that time the greatest power lodged in their hands. The office of the Ephori subsisted only one year ; they were instituted to moderate the too great power of the kings, and to serve as a barrier against it, as we have observed elsewhere. For this reason, the kings of Sparta, from their establishment, had always retained a kind of hereditary aversion for them, and continually opposed their measures. Agesilaus took a quite contrary method. Instead of making a perpetual war upon them, and clashing upon all occasions with their measures, he made it his business to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmost deference and regard, never entered upon the least enterprize, without ha-

* Ὅτι τοὺς κοινὰς πολίτας, ἰδίους κίχεται.

ving first communicated it to them, and upon their summons quitted every thing, and repaired to the senate with the utmost ~~residence~~ and resignation: Whenever he sat upon his throne to administer justice, if the Ephori entered, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. By all these instances of respect, he seemed to add new dignity to their charge, whilst in reality he augmented his own power, without its being observed, and added to the sovereignty a grandeur the more solid and permanent, as it was the effect of the people's good-will and esteem for him: The greatest of the Roman emperors, as Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antonius were convinced, that the utmost a prince could do, to honour and exalt the dignity of the principal magistrates, was only adding to his own power, and strengthening his authority, which neither should, nor can be founded in any thing but justice.

Such was Agesilaus, of whom much will be said hereafter, with whose character it was therefore necessary to begin.

S E C T. II.

Agesilaus sets out for Asia. Lysander falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious designs to alter the succession to the throne.

AGESILAUS had scarce ascended the throne, when accounts came from Asia, that the king of Persia was equipping a great fleet, with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their empire at sea. Conon's letters, seconded by the remonstrances of Pharnabazus, who had in concert represented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta as formidable, had made a strong impression upon that prince. From that time he had it seriously in his thoughts to humble that proud republick, by raising up its rival,

A. M.
3608.
Ant. J. C.
396.
Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
1. 3. p. 495,
496.
Id. de Agesil.
p. 652.
Plut. in
Agesil. p.
598, & in
Lysand.
p. 446.

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rival, and by that means re-establishing the antient ballance between them, which could alone assure his safety, by keeping them perpetually employed against each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces against him.

Lyfander, who desired to be sent into Asia, in order to re-establish his creatures and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, strongly inclined Agesilaus to take upon himself the charge of that war, and to prevent the Barbarian king, by attacking him remote from Greece, before he should have finished his preparations. The republick having made this proposal to him, he could not refuse it, and charged himself with the expedition against Artaxerxes upon condition that thirty Spartan captains should be granted him, to assist him and compose his council with two thousand new citizens, to be chosen out of the helots who had been lately made freemen, and six thousand troops of the allies, which was immediately resolved. Lyfander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only upon account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendship between him and Agesilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well as the honour which had been lately conferred upon him of being elected generalissimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks, who had followed Cyrus, and whom the whole power of Persia was not able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inspired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in its forces, and a supreme contempt for the Barbarians. In this disposition of the people, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would reproach them, to neglect so favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Asia, from their subjection to these Barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they

they were continually oppressing them. They had already attempted this by their generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavors having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Agesilaus. He promised them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Persians, or to ~~destroy~~ them so effectually, as should leave them neither leisure nor inclination to carry the war into Greece. This king had great views, and thought of nothing less than attacking Artaxerxes in Persia itself.

When he arrived at Ephesus, Tissaphernes sent to demand what reason had induced his coming into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to re-establish them in their antient liberty. The satrap, who was not yet prepared, preferred art to force, and assured him, that his master would give the Grecian cities of Asia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hostility, till the return of the couriers. Agesilaus agreed, and the truce was sworn on both sides. Tissaphernes, who laid no great stress upon an oath, took the advantage of this delay to assemble troops on all sides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprized of it, but however kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of state, the breach of faith can have but a very short and precarious success; whereas a reputation established upon inviolable fidelity, in the observance of engagements, which the perfidy itself of the other contracting party has not power to alter, will establish a credit and confidence, equally useful and glorious. In effect, Xenophon remarks, that this religious observation of treaties gained him the universal esteem and opinion of the people; whilst the different conduct of Tissaphernes entirely lost him their favour.

Xenoph.
p. 496
& 652.

Agesilaus

ARTAX-
MNE MON.

A. M.

3609.

Ant. J. C.

395.

Plut. in

Agefil. p.

599, 600.

In Lyfander.

P. 446,

447.

Agefilaus made use of this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the state of the cities, and in making suitable regulations. He found great disorder every where, their government being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor aristocratical, as Lyfander had established it. The people of the country had no communication with Agefilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reason they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form-sake only, and that the whole power really vested in Lyfander. As no governour had ever done so much good to his friends or mischief to his enemies, it is not wonderful, that he was so much beloved by the one and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; whilst Agefilaus remained almost alone. Such a conduct could not fail of offending a general and king, extremely sensible and delicate in what regarded his authority; though otherwise not jealous of any one's merit, but on the contrary, much inclined to distinguish it with his favour. He did not dissemble his disgust. He paid no regard to Lyfander's commendations, and ceased to employ him himself. Lyfander presently perceived this alteration in regard to him. He discontinued his applications for his friends to the king, desired them not to visit him any more, nor attach themselves to him, but to address themselves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of those, who in the present times had power to serve and advance their creatures. The greatest part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not cease to pay their court to him. On the contrary, they were only more assiduous than ever about his person, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly assisted at all his exercises.

Lyfander

Lysander naturally vain, and long accustomed to the homage and submission that attend absolute power, did not take sufficient care to remove the busy crowd from his person, that continually made their addresses to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew still more and more offensive to Agesilaus, and seemed as if intended to insult him. He resented it so highly, that having given the most considerable commands and best governments to private officers, he appointed Lysander commissary of the stores, and distributor of provisions; and afterwards to insult and deride the Ionians, he told them, *that they might now go and consult his master butcher.*

Lysander thought it then incumbent upon him to speak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their conversation was brief and laconick. *Certainly, my Lord, said Lysander, you know very well how to depress your friends. Yes, when they would set themselves above me; but when they are studious of my dignity, I know also how to let them share in it. But perhaps, my lord, replied Lysander, I have been injured by false reports, and things I never did, have been imputed to me. I must beg therefore, if it be only upon account of the strangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me such an employment in your army, wherein you shall think me least capable of displeasing, and most of serving, you effectually.*

The effect of this conversation was the lieutenancy of the Hellespont, which Agesilaus gave him. In this employment he retained all his resentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the success of affairs. Some small time after he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour or distinction,

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

extremely animated against Agesilaus, and with the hope of making him fully sensible of it.

It must be allowed that Lysander's conduct, as we have here represented it, denotes a vanity and narrowness of mind on his side, much unworthy of his character. Perhaps Agesilaus carried too far his sensibility and delicacy in point of honour, and that he was a little too severe upon a friend and benefactor, whom secret animadversions, attended with openness of heart and expressions of kindness, might have reclaimed to his duty. But as shining as Lysander's merit, and as considerable as the services he had rendered Agesilaus, might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the superiority he affected, which in some measure tended to making the other insignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himself, and to exceed the bounds of a just subordination.

Plut. in
Lysand.

P. 447,
448.

Diod. l. 14.

P. 244,
245.

Upon his return to Sparta, he had it seriously in his thoughts to execute a project, which he had many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there was only two families, or rather branches, of the posterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lysander had attained to that high degree of power, which his great actions had acquired him, he began to see with pain a city, whose glory had been so much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he gave place neither in valour nor birth; for he descended, as well as themselves, from Hercules. He therefore sought means to deprive those two houses of the sole succession to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclides, and even according to some, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himself, that if his design took effect, no Spartan would be capable of disputing

ting that honour with him, and that he should have the preference to all others.

This ambitious project of Lysander's shews, that the greatest captains are often those, from whom a republick has most to apprehend. Those haughty valiant spirits, accustomed to absolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftiness of mind, always to be dreaded in a free state. Sparta, in giving Lysander unlimited power, and leaving it for so many years in his hands, did not sufficiently consider, that nothing is more dangerous, than to confide to persons of superior merit and abilities, employments of supreme authority; which naturally exposes them to the temptation of rendering themselves independent, and absolute masters of power. Lysander was not proof against it, and practised secretly to open himself a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impossible to succeed without first making use of the fear of the divinity, and the terrors of superstition, to amaze and subdue the citizens into a more easy disposition, to receive what he wanted to have them understand: for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the least importance was determined, without the oracle's being previously consulted. He tempted with great presents the priests and priestesses of Delphos, Dodona, and Ammon; though ineffectually at that time; and the latter sent even ambassadors to Sparta, to accuse him of impiety and sacrilege; but he extricated himself from that bad affair by his credit and address.

It was necessary to set other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that she was with child by Apollo, had been delivered some years before of a son, to whom the name of Silenus was given, and the greatest persons of that nation had disputed the honour of nursing and educating him. Lysander, taking this won-

ARTAX.
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drous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the foundation, of a piece he meditated, supplied the rest himself, by employing a good number of persons, and those not inconsiderable, to disperse, by way of prologue to the performance, the miraculous birth of this infant; whereby, no affectation appearing in them, people were disposed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain discourses from Delphos to Sparta, which were industriously spread abroad every where: That the priests of the temple had in their custody some books of very antient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any persons whatsoever, to have any knowledge; and that only a son of Apollo, who was to come in process of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to those, who had the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well premised, Silenus was to present himself to the priests, and demand those oracles as the son of Apollo; and the priests who were in the secret, as actors well prepared and fully instructed in their parts, were on their side to make the most exact and circumstantial enquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and asking endless questions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as absolutely convinced, that this Silenus was the real son of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them to him; after which, this son of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the presence of all the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been cooked up. The sense of this was, *That it was more expedient and advantagious for the Spartans to elect no kings for the future but the most worthy of their citizens.* Lyfander in consequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Halicarnassus, a cele-

a celebrated rhetorician, had composed a very eloquent discourse for him upon this subject, which he had got by heart. ARTAX.
MNEMON.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part, when Lyfander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry, by the timidity and desertion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and disappeared at the very instant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was transacted with so much secrecy, to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lyfander. How it came to light after his death, we shall soon relate, but must at present return to Tissaphernes.

S E C T. III.

Expeditions of Agesilaus in Asia. Disgrace and death of Tissaphernes. Sparta gives Agesilaus the command of its armies by sea and land. He deposes Pisander to command the fleet. Interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

WHEN Tissaphernes had received the troops assigned him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he sent to command Agesilaus to retire out of Asia, and declared war against him in case of refusal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppose the great army of the Persian king. For himself, he heard Tissaphernes's heralds with a gay and easy countenance, and bad them tell their master, that he was under a very great obligation to him *for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Persia and the friends of Greece.* He promised himself great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding disgrace for him, that ten thousand Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, should have passed

Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 3. p. 497—502.
Id. de Agesil. p. 652—656.
Plut. in Agesil. p. 600.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

fed through the heart of Asia to the Grecian sea, and beat the king of Persia, as often as he appeared against them; and that he, who commanded the Lacedæmonians, whose empire extended over all Greece by sea and land, should not execute some exploit worthy of glory and remembrance.

At first therefore, to revenge the perfidy of Tissaphernes by a just and allowable deceit, he made a feint of marching his army into Caria, the residence of that satrap; and as soon as the Barbarian had caused his troops to march that way, he turned short, and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amassed immense treasures, which he distributed amongst the officers and soldiers; letting his friends see, says Plutarch, that to break a treaty, and violate an oath, is to despise the gods themselves; and that on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the stratagems of war, is not only just and glorious, but a sensible delight, attended with the greatest advantages.

The spring being come, he assembled all his forces at Ephesus; and to exercise his soldiers, he proposed prizes both for the horse and foot. This small inducement set every thing in motion. The place for exercises was perpetually full of all kind of troops, and the city of Ephesus seemed only a Palæstra, and a school of war. The whole marketplace was filled with horses and arms, and the shops with different kinds of military equipage. Agesilaus was seen returning from the exercises, followed by a crowd of officers and soldiers, all of them crowned with wreaths, which they were going to deposite in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of all the world. For, says Xenophon, where piety and discipline are seen to flourish, only the best hopes can be conceived.

To give his soldiers new valour from the contempt of their enemies, he made use of this contrivance. He ordered the commissaries, who had charge of the booty, to strip the prisoners and expose them to sale,

fare. There were abundance of buyers for their habits; but for themselves, their bodies were so soft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the shade, that they laughed at them, as of neither service nor value. Agesilaus then approaching said to his soldiers, pointing to the men, *See there against whom you fight*; and shewing them their rich spoils, *and there for what you fight*.

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MNEMON.

When the season for taking the field returned, Agesilaus gave out, that he would march into Lydia. Tissaphernes, who had not forgot the first stratagem he had used in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a second time, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting, but at this time, Agesilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather because it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour his establishment in a rude and difficult country, which might render the horse of an enemy useless and unserviceable. But he deceived himself: Agesilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened thither with his horse, with intent to relieve the place. Agesilaus, knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of so favourable an opportunity to give him battle, before he had re-assembled all his troops. He drew up his army in two lines; the first he formed of his squadrons, whose intervals he filled up with platoons of the light-armed foot, ordered them to begin the charge, whilst he followed with the second line, composed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not sustain the first shock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks pursued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great slaughter, and a still greater booty.

Xenoph.
p. 501 &
657.

After this battle the troops of Agesilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Persians, and at the same time had the satisfaction to see that prince inflict an exemplary punishment

Plut. in
Artax. p.
1022 & in
Agesil. p.
601.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.
Diod. l. 14.
P. 299.
Polyæn.
Stratag. l. 7

punishment upon Tissaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and the most dangerous enemy of the Greeks. The king had already received abundance of complaints against his conduct. Upon this occasion he was accused of treason, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Parysatis, always actuated by her hatred and revenge against those, who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tissaphernes, by aggravating with all her power the charges against him; for she had been entirely restored to favour by the king her son.

As Tissaphernes had a great authority in Asia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it necessary to take suitable precautions, in seizing so powerful an officer, who might have proved a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithraustes with that important commission, and gave him two letters at the same time. The first was for Tissaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requisite. The second was addressed to Ariæus, governor of Larissa; by which the king commanded him to assist Tithraustes with his counsel, and all his forces in seizing Tissaphernes. He lost no time, and sent to desire Tissaphernes would come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with only a guard of three hundred men. Whilst he was in a bath, without sabre or other arms, he was seized and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent it immediately to Persia. The king gave it to Parysatis; an agreeable present to a princess of her violent and vindictive nature. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes seems little worthy of a king, nobody lamented the fate of that satrap, who had no veneration for the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty

empty names; who made a jest of the most sacred oaths, and believed the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithraustes had a third writing from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tissaphernes. After having executed his commission, he sent great presents to Agésilas, to induce him to enter more readily into his views and interest; and ordered him to be told, that the cause of the war being removed, and the author of all differences put to death, nothing opposed an accommodation; that the king of Persia consented, that the cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops, and return into Greece. Agésilas replied, that he could conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleased with enriching his soldiers than himself; that the Greeks besides thought it more glorious and honourable to take spoils from their enemies, than to accept their presents. However as he was not unwilling to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expressing his gratitude to him for having punished the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabazus. Tithraustes had himself proposed, that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the command of the naval army, and power to depute whom he thought fit in his stead. By these new powers he saw himself absolute commander of all the troops of that state in Asia both by sea and land. They came to this resolution, in order that all operations being directed by one and the same head,

ALTAX.
MEMORI
Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
l. 3. p. 501.
Plut. in
Agésil.
p. 601.

ARTAX.
MEMON.

head, and the two armies acting in concert. the plans which should be formed might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conspire to the same end. Sparta till then had never done the honour to any of their generals, to confide to him at the same time the command of the armies by sea and land. So that all the world agreed in the opinion, that he was the greatest personage of his time; and best sustained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was man, and had his failings.

The first thing he did was to establish Pisander as his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he seemed to have committed a considerable fault; because having about him many older and more experienced captains, without regard to the service of the publick, to do honour to an ally, and to please his wife, who was Pisander's sister, he entrusted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit.

This is the common temptation of persons in power, who believe they possess it only for themselves, and their families; as if the advantage of relation to them was a sufficient title and qualification for posts, which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expose the affairs of a state to ruin by their private views, but sacrifice besides the interests of their own glory, which cannot be maintained, but by successes it were inconsistent to expect from instruments so ill chosen.

A. M.

3610.

Ant. J. C.

394.

Xenoph.

hist. Græc.

l. 4. p. 507

—510.

Agefilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the lands of Pharnabafus's government, where he lived in the abundance of all things, and amassed great sums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotis, who passionately desired his amity, from the sense of his faith in the observance of treaties, and his other virtues. The same motives had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers,

officers, to quit the service of Pharnabazus, and go over to Agesilaus, to whom from his revolt he had rendered great services; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waste the whole country under Pharnabazus, who never dared appear in the field against him, nor even rely upon his fortresses: but carrying away whatever was most valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length, taking with him the Spartan Herippidas with some troops, (who was the chief of the council of thirty sent by the republick to Agesilaus the second year,) watched him one day so closely, and attacked him so successfully, that he made himself master of his camp, and of all the rich spoils with which it abounded. But Herippidas, injudiciously setting himself up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been sunk, to an account; forced even the soldiers of Spithridates to restore what they had taken, and by visiting their tents, and searching them with an unseasonable exactitude and severity, affronted Spithridates to such a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.

It is said, that in this whole expedition nothing so sensibly affected Agesilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For, besides his being very sorry for the loss of so good an officer, and so good troops, he apprehended being reproached with a mean and sordid avarice; a vice equally dishonourable to himself and his country; and of which he had taken pains to avoid the slightest suspicion during his whole life. He did not think it consistent with the duty of his office, to shut his eyes through slothful ease and indolence against all the malversations that were committed under him; but he knew at the same time, that there is an exactitude and severity, that by being carried too far, degenerate into minuteness and
trifle,

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

trifle, and which, through an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

Xenoph.

hist. Græc.

l. 4. p. 510

—512.

Plut. in

Agefil. p.

602.

Some time after, Pharnabafus, who saw his whole country ravaged, demanded an interview with Agefilaus, which was negotiated by a common friend of them both. Agefilaus arrived first with his friends at the place agreed on, and sat down in expectation of Pharnabafus upon the turf, under the shade of a tree. When Pharnabafus arrived, his people spread skins upon the ground of exceeding softness from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cushions. But when he saw Agefilaus sitting simply upon the earth, without any preparation, he was ashamed of his effeminacy, and sat down also upon the grass. On this occasion the Persian pride was seen to pay homage to the Spartan modesty and simplicity.

After reciprocal salutations, Pharnabafus spoke to this effect: That he had served the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war to the utmost of his power, fought several battles for them, and supported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tissaphernes had done. That he was surprized at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying waste the whole country. That if it was the custom with the Greeks, who made profession of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in such a manner, he did not know what they might mean by just and equitable. These complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modest, but pathetick, air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Agefilaus, not seeing how they could be answered, cast down their eyes, and kept a profound silence. Agefilaus, who observed it, replied almost in these terms. “ Lord Pharnabafus, you “ are not ignorant, that war often arms the best “ friends against each other, for the defence of their “ country.

"country. Whilst we were such to the king your
"master, we treated him as a friend ; but as we are
"become his enemies, we make open war against
"him, as it is just we should, and endeavour to
"hurt him by what we act against you. However
"from the instant you shall think fit to throw off
"the yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the
"friend and ally of the Greeks, before the name
"of the king of Persia's slave, you may reckon all
"the troops you see before your eyes, our arms,
"our ships, our persons to the last man of us, are
"only here to defend your possessions, and secure
"your liberty ; which of all blessings is the most
"precious and desirable."

Pharnabafus answered, that if the king sent another general in his place, and subjected him to the new-comer, he should very willingly accept his offer ; that otherwise, he would not depart from the faith he had sworn to him, nor quit his service. Agesilaus then taking him by the hand, and rising with him, replied, " That it would please the gods, " lord Pharnabafus, with such noble sentiments, you " were rather our friend than our enemy." He promised to withdraw from his government, and never return into it, whilst he could subsist elsewhere.

S E C T. IV.

League against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus recalled by the Ephori to defend his country, obeys directly. Lysander's death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemæa. Their fleet beaten by Conon at Cnidus. Battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæa.

A. M.
3610.
Ant. J. C.
394.
Plut. in
Agesil. p.
603, 604.
Xenoph.
in Agesil.
p. 657.

AGESILAUS had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the most remote provinces of Asia tremble at his name, and resound with the fame of his great wisdom, disinterestedness,

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

terestedness, moderation, intrepid valour in the greatest dangers, and invincible patience in supporting the rudest fatigues. Of so many thousand soldiers under his command, not one was worse provided, or lay harder, than himself. He was so indifferent as to heat or cold, that he seemed formed * only to support the most rigorous seasons, and such as it pleased God to send: which are Plutarch's express words.

The most agreeable of all sights to the Greeks established in Asia, was to see the lieutenants of the great king, his satraps, and other great lords, who were formerly so haughty and untractable, soften their note in the presence of a man meanly clad, and at his single word, however short and laconick, change their language and conduct, and in a manner transform themselves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were sent by the people to form alliances with him, and his army encreased every day by the troops of the Barbarians that came to join him.

All Asia was already in motion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt. Agesilaus had already restored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had re-instated them in the possession of their liberty under reasonable modifications, not only without shedding of blood, but without even banishing a single person. Not content with such a progress, he had formed the design of going to attack the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear for his own person and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Susa, and to find him so much business, as should make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and persons of greatest authority in its cities with his presents.

* "Ὅσπερ μόνον· αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν κεκαρμέναις ἀραις, πεφυχάς.

Tithraustes, who commanded for the king in Asia, seeing the tendency of Agefilaut's designs, and desiring to prevent their effects, had sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great sums of money to corrupt the principal persons in the cities, and by their means occasion defections against Sparta. He knew, that the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians (for all their generals did not resemble Agefilaut,) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, especially since they looked upon themselves as the masters of Greece, had universally disgusted the people, and excited a jealousy that waited only the occasion to break out against them. This severity of governing had a natural cause in their education. Accustomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, first to their tutors, and afterwards to their magistrates, they exacted a like submission from the cities in their dependence, were easily enraged at the least opposition, and by this strictness and severity rendered themselves insupportable.

Tithraustes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, entered into his measures: The deputy did not go to Athens. These three cities, influenced by those that governed them, made a league against the Lacedæmonians, who on their side prepared vigorously for the war. The Thebans at the same time sent deputies to the Athenians, to implore their aid, and that they would enter into the alliance. The deputies, after having slightly passed over their antient divisions, insisted strongly upon the considerable service they had rendered Athens, in refusing to join its enemies, when they endeavoured its final destruction. They represented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for re-instating themselves in their antient power, and to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece. That all the allies of Sparta, either without or

ARTAX-
MNEMON.
Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
l. 3. p. 502
—507.
Plut. in
Lyfand.
P. 449
—451.

ARTAX-
MNEMON.

within Greece, were weary of their severe and unjust sway, and waited only the signal to revolt. That the moment the Athenians should declare themselves, all the cities would rouse up at the sound of their arms, and that the king of Persia, who had sworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by sea and land.

Thraſybulus, whom the Thebans had supplied with arms and money, when he undertook the re-establishment of the Athenian liberty, seconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimously resolved. The Lacedæmonians on their side took the field without loss of time, and entered Phocis. Lyſander wrote to Pausanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march early the next day to Haliartus, which he designed to besiege, and that he should be there himself at sun-rise. The letter was intercepted. Lyſander, after having waited his coming, up a great while, was obliged to engage, and killed in the battle.

Pausanias received this bad news on his way ; but however continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to consider upon a second battle. He did not think it consistent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himself with making a truce, to remove the bodies of those who had fallen in the former fight.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited to give an account of his conduct, and refusing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that sentence by flight, and retired to Tægæum, where he passed the remainder of his life under the shelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he devoted himself as a suppliant, and died of distemper.

Lyſander's poverty, having been discovered after his death, did great honour to his memory ; when it was known that of all the gold and treasure which had passed through his hands ; of a power so

extensive

extensive as his had been; of so many cities under his government, and which made their court to him, in a word, of that kind of dominion and sovereignty always exercised by him, he had made no manner of advantage, for the advancement and enriching of his house.

Some days before his death, two of the principal citizens of Sparta had contracted themselves to his two daughters; but when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refused to marry them. The republick did not suffer so sordid a baseness to go unpunished, nor Lysander's poverty, which was the strongest proof of his justice and virtue, to be treated as an obstacle to allying into his family. They were fined in a great sum, publicly disgraced, and exposed to the contempt of all persons of honour. For at Sparta there were penalties established, not only for such as refused to marry, or married too late, but also for those who married amiss: and those especially were reckoned of this number, who, instead of allying into houses of virtue, and with their relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in wedlock. An admirable law, and highly tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families, which an impure mixture of blood *and manners* seldom fails to alter and efface!

It must be owned, that a generous dis-interestedness in the midst of all that could enflame and gratify the lust of gain, is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lysander, it was attended with great defects, which entirely obscure its lustre. Without speaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and silver into Sparta, which he despised himself, though he rendered it estimable to his country, and thereby occasioned its ruin; what opinion can we have of a man, brave indeed, well read in men, skilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of governing, and what is commonly called policy, but who regards probity and justice as nothing; to

APTAX.
MNEMON.

whom falshood, fraud, and perfidy appear legal methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends, and the augmenting of his creatures, to commit the most flagrant injustice and oppressions, and is not ashamed to prophane whatever is most sacred in religion, even to the corrupting of priests, and forging of oracles to satiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of ascending a throne.

Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
1.4. p. 513.
Id. in Age-
fil. p. 657.
Plut. in
Agefil. p.
603, 604.

When Agesilaus was just upon the point of leading his troops into Persia, the Spartan Epicydidas arrived to let him know, that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the Ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defence of his country. Agesilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch has transmitted to us.

Plut. in
Apoph. la-
conic.
p. 211.

Agesilaus to the Ephori greeting. We have reduced part of Asia; put the Barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia: But as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter; and should prevent it if possible. I received the command not for myself but my country, and its allies. I know that a general does not deserve, or possess that name rightly, but as he submits to the laws, and obeys the magistrates.

This ready obedience of Agesilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reason, Hannibal, though depressed with misfortunes, and driven almost entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they recalled him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's country, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne, almost assured of the success of his arms, at the first order of the Ephori, renounces the most soothing hopes, and the most exalted expectations. He demonstrates the truth of

what

what was said, *That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws.* ARTAX.
MNEMON.

On his departure he said, *that thirty thousand of the king's archers drove him out of Asia*; alluding in those words to a species of Persian coin, which had on one side the figure of an archer, thirty thousand of which pieces of money had been dispersed in Greece to corrupt the orators and persons of greatest power in the cities.

Agésilas, in quitting Asia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him four thousand men for the defence of the country. Xenophon went with him, who left at Ephesus, with Megabyzus the guardian of Diana's temple; half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition in Persia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in trust, and in case of death to consecrate it to the goddesses. Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
l. 4. p. 513.
Xenoph.
de exped.
Cyri. l. 5.
p. 350.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians had raised an army, and given the command of it to Aristodemus, tutor to king Agesipolis, then an infant. Their enemies assembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth said, the Lacedæmonians resembled a river that grew larger as it removed from its source; or to a swarm of bees, which it is easy to burn in their hive, but disperse themselves a great way when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their stings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capital; which was approved and resolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Némæa, a city not very remote from Corinth, where a rude battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very considerable. Agésilas having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was hastening to the relief of his country, sent it directly to the cities of Asia for their encouragement, and

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ARTAX.
MNEMON

Plut. in
Agefil.
p. 605.

to give them hopes of his speedy return, if the success of affairs would admit it.

When the approach of Agefilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians, that remained in the city, to do honour to him for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all young persons, who were willing to aid their king, might come and list themselves for that purpose. Not one of them failed to enter himself immediately with the utmost joy. But the Ephori chose only fifty of the bravest and most robust, whom they sent to him, and desired, that he would enter Boeotia with the utmost expedition, which he did accordingly.

Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
l. 4. p. 518.
Diod. l. 14.
p. 302.
Justin. l. 6.
c. 2 & 3.

About the same time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidos a city of Caria. That of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Pisander, Agefilaus's brother-in-law, and of the Persians, by Pharnabazus and Conon the Athenian. The latter, observing that the king of Persia's supplies came slowly, and occasioned the loss of many opportunities, had resolved to go in person to the court, to solicit the king's assistance. As he would not prostrate himself before him, according to the Persian custom, he could not explain himself but by the intervention of others. He represented to him, with a force and spirit seldom pardoned in those who treat with princes, that it was equally shameful and astonishing, that his ministers, contrary to his intention, should suffer his affairs to be disconcerted and ruined for want of the necessary expences; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point, he was so infinitely superior to them; that in riches; and that for want of remitting the sums his service required to his generals, all their designs were rendered abortive. These remonstrances were free, but just, and solid. The king received them perfectly well, and shewed by his example, that truth may often be spoke to princes with

with success, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him ^{ARTAX.}
^{MNEMON.} admiral of his fleet.

It was composed of more than fourscore and ten galleys, to which the enemy's was somewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of Athens by the loss of the sea-fight near Ægospotamos; used extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to efface by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. * He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to give, the Persians would be at the whole expence, and bear all the loss themselves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would redound to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own. Pisander had also strong motives to shew his valour upon this occasion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and to justify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at first some advantage, but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themselves to flight, he could not resolve to follow them, and died sword in hand. Conon took fifty galleys, and the rest escaped to Cnidos. The consequence of this victory was the revolt of almost all the allies of Sparta; several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their antient liberty. After this battle the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Asia were no more than the feeble efforts of an aspiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea completed their downfall.

* Eo speciosus quod ne ipsorum quidem Atheniensium sed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus præmie patriæ. Justin.

THE HISTORY OF THE

MON.
Isocrat. in
orat. Are-
op. p. 278
—280.

Isocrates makes a very just reflection upon the revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their source and origin in the insolent prosperity of both those republicks. The Lacedæmonians, who were at first acknowledged masters of Greece without opposition, fell from their authority only by their enormous abuse of it. The Athenians succeeded them in power, and at the same time in pride; and we have seen into what an abyss of misfortunes, it precipitated them. Sparta having gained the superiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and the taking of their city, might have improved in their measures from the double experience of the past; as well in regard to what had befallen themselves, as from the recent example of their rival; but the most affecting examples and events seldom or ever occasion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and so experienced the same destiny again.

To warn the Athenians against this misfortune, Isocrates puts them in mind of the past, and of the times wherein they were successful in every thing. “ You “ imagine,” says he, “ that provided with a nu- “ merous fleet, absolute masters at sea, and sup- “ ported by powerful allies always ready to give “ you aid, that you have nothing to fear, and may “ enjoy in repose and tranquillity the fruits of your “ victories: For my part, indulge me to speak with “ truth and freedom, I think quite otherwise. The “ cause of my apprehension is, my having observ- “ ed, that the decline of the greatest republicks has “ always began at the time they believed themselves “ most powerful, and that their very security has “ laboured the precipice into which they have fal- “ len. The reason of this is evident. Prosperity “ and adversity never come alone, but have always “ a train with them of very different effects. The “ first is attended with vain-glory, pride, and inso- “ lence, which dazzle the mind and inspire rash “ and

“ and extravagant measures : On the contrary, the
 “ companions of adversity, are modesty, self-diffi-
 “ dence and circumspection, which naturally render
 “ men prudent, and apt to amend from their own
 “ failings. So that it is hard to judge which of the
 “ two conditions we ought to desire for a city ; as
 “ that, which appears unhappy, is an almost certain
 “ path to prosperity ; and the other, so flattering
 “ and splendid, generally leads on to the greatest
 “ misfortunes.” The blow, which the Lacedæmonians
 received at the battle of Cnidos is a mournful
 proof of what he says.

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MNEMON.

Agefilaus was in Bœotia, and about to give battle, when this bad news was brought him. Apprehending that it might discourage and deter his troops, he caused it to be reported in the army, that the Lacedæmonians had gained a considerable victory at sea ; and appearing in publick with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the good news, and sent part of it in presents to his officers. The two armies, almost equal in strength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coroneæ, when they drew up in battle. Agefilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. On the other side the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time, and may be believed, as he was present in it, and fought near the person of Agefilaus, with whom he had returned from Asia.

Plut. in
Agefil.
p. 605.

Plut. in
Agefil.
p. 605.
Xenoph.
hist. Græc.
p. 518—
520. & in
Agefil. p.
659, 660.

The first charge was not very obstinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans soon put the Orchomenians to flight, and Agefilaus overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties having learnt that their left wing had been very severely handled and fled, they returned immediately ; Agefilaus to oppose the Thebans, and to wrest the victory out of their hands, and the Thebans to follow their left wing, that was retired to Helicon. Agefilaus at

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

that moment might have assured himself of a complete victory, if he would have let the Thebans pass on, and had charged them after in the rear; but giving way to the ardour of his courage, he resolved to stop them by an attack in front, and to bear them by pure force. In which, says Xenophon, he shewed more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, seeing Agefilaus advance against them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, formed a hollow square, and waited his coming up in good order. The engagement was sharp and bloody on all sides, but particularly where Agefilaus fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans, sent him by the city. The valour and emulation of those young men were of great service to Agefilaus, and may be said to have saved his life; for they combated around him with exceeding ardour, and exposed themselves foremost in all dangers for the safety of his person. They could not however prevent his receiving several wounds through his armour from pikes and swords. Notwithstanding, after an exceeding warm dispute they brought him off alive from the enemy, and making their bodies a rampart for him, sacrificed a great number of Thebans to his defence; many of those young men being also left upon the field. At length finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were forced to have recourse to what they had at first rejected. They opened their phalanx to let them pass; which when they had done, as they marched afterwards in more disorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could however neither break them, nor put them to flight. Those brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elate with the success of the battle, wherein on their side they had always remained invincible.

Agefilaus, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had lost, would not retire to his tent, till he

he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had seen all the dead bodies carried off, even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Itoniensis, which was not very distant from the field of battle, and asked what he would have done with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even sent them a guard to escort them in safety wherever they thought fit.

The next morning Agesilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themselves with flowers, and the musick of the army to play, whilst a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the same instant the enemy sent heralds to demand his permission to bury their dead; which he granted, with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he caused himself to be carried to Delphos, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a solemn procession which was followed by a sacrifice, and consecrated the tenth part of the booty taken in Asia to the god, which amounted to an hundred talents. These great men, as religious as brave, never failed to express by presents their gratitude to the gods for their successes in arms, declaring in that publick homage, that they believed themselves indebted for their victories to their protection.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

An hundred thousand crowns.

S E C T. V.

Agesilaus returns victorious to Sparta. He always retains his simplicity and antient manners. Comen rebuilds the walls of Athens. A peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded by Antalcides the Lacedamonian.

AFTER the festival, Agesilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the most real joy, and beheld him with admiration,

P. 606.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

admiration, when they observed the simplicity of his manners, and the constant frugality and temperance of his life. At his return from foreign countries, where luxury, slothful effeminacy, and the love of pleasures entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the Barbarian customs, as most of the other generals had been: He made no alteration in his diet, baths, equipage of his wife, ornaments of his arms, nor furniture of his house. In the midst of so shining a reputation, and the universal applause, always the same, or rather more modest than before, he distinguished himself from the rest of the citizens, by a rather greater submission to the laws, and a more inviolable attachment to the customs of his country; convinced, that he was only king to be the brighter example of those virtues to others.

Plut. de sui
laud. p.
555.

He made greatness consist in virtue alone. Hearing the Great King (so the kings of Persia used to call themselves) spoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled; “* I cannot conceive,” said he, “wherein he is greater than me, unless he be more virtuous.”

There were at Sparta some citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taste of Greece, made their merit and glory consist in keeping a great number of horses for the race. He persuaded his sister Cynisca to dispute the prize in the olympick games, in order to shew the Greeks, that those victories, on which they set so high a value were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expence. She was the first of her sex, who shared in this honour. He had not the same opinion of the exercises, which contributed to render the body more robust, and enure it to labour and fatigue; and to place them in greater estimation, would often honour them with his presence.

* Τί δ' ἰπῶν γὰρ μάχης ἀνείηθ', εἰ μὴ καὶ δυνάστωσιν.

Some time after Lyfander's death, he discovered the conspiracy, formed by that captain, against the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and was discovered by a kind of accident. It came to light in this manner. Upon some affairs, which related to the government, it was necessary to consult Lyfander's papers, and Agesilaus went to his house for that purpose. In running them over, he fell upon the sheets, in which the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings, was contained at large. Surprized at perusing it, he gave over his search, and went away abruptly, to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them see what manner of man Lyfander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wise and prudent person, and president of the Ephori, interposed, by telling him, That it was highly improper to raise Lyfander from the dead; on the contrary, that it was necessary to bury his harangue along with him, as of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was composed, and the force of persuasion universally prevalent in it, against which it might prove no easy matter to resist. Agesilaus was of the same opinion, and the piece was consigned to silence and oblivion, as the best use that could be made of it.

As his credit was very high in the city, he had Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, declared admiral of the fleet. It were to be wished, that history, to justify this choice, had remarked any other qualities in that commander, than his nearness of blood to the king. Agesilaus soon after set out with his land-army to besiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, whilst his brother Teleutias attacked it by sea. He did several other exploits against the people of Greece, that were enemies of Sparta, which denoted indeed the valour and experience of the general, but were not always decisive,

ARTAX.
VINEMON.Plut. in
Agesil.
p. 696.

Plut. ibid.

ARTAX.
MNEEMON.

five, and which we thought for that reason might be omitted.

A. M.

3611.

Ant. J. C.

393.

Xenoph.

hist. Græc.

1. 4. P. 534

—537.

Diod. l. 14.

p. 303.

Justin.

l. 6. c. 5.

At the same time Pharnabazus and Conon, having made themselves masters at sea, ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. That satrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very considerable sums for the re-establishment of Athens. Conon victorious, and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with universal applause. The sad prospect of a city, formerly so flourishing, and at that time reduced to so melancholy a condition, caused him more grief, than it gave him joy in seeing his beloved country again, after so many years absence. He lost no time, but fell immediately to work, employing besides masons and the usual artificers, the soldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all that were well inclined to Athens; providence decreeing, that this city, formerly destroyed by the Persians, should be rebuilt by their own hands, and that having been dismantled and demolished by the Lacedæmonians, it should be re-inhabited at their own cost, and by the spoils taken from them. What a vicissitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had those for its allies, which had formerly been its most violent enemies, and for enemies, those with whom before it had contracted the most strict and most confirmed union. Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Thebans, soon rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendor, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. After having offered to the gods an whole hecatomb, that is to say, a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, as a thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of Athens, he made a feast, to which all the citizens without exception, were invited,

Athen. l. 1.

§. 3.

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Xenoph.

hist. Græc.

1. 4. P. 537,

538.

Plut. in

Agefil.

p. 608.

Sparta could not see without extreme affliction so glorious a revolution. It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its ancient rival, and almost continual enemy,

enemy, as its own ruin ; which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean resolution of avenging itself at once upon Athens, and Conon its restorer, by making peace with the king of Persia. With this view they dispatched Antalcides to Tiribasus. His commission consisted of two principal articles. The first was, to accuse Conon to that satrap of having defrauded the king of the money, which he had employed in the re-establishment of Athens, and of having formed the design of depriving the Persians of Æolia and Ionia, and to subject them anew to the republick of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the second, he had orders to make the most advantageous proposals his master could desire. Without giving himself any manner of trouble in regard to Asia, he stipulated only, that all the islands, and other cities, should enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the last injustice and the utmost baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia ; for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long contended. It is true, He had no share in this most infamous negotiation ; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcides, who being the sworn enemy of the king of Sparta, hastened the peace by all manner of means, because the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Agesilaus.

The most considerable cities of Greece had sent deputies at the same time to Tiribasus, and Conon was at the head of those from Athens. All of them were unanimous in rejecting such proposals. Without speaking of the interests of the Greeks of Asia, with which they were extremely affected, they saw themselves exposed by this treaty ; the Athenians, to the loss of the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros ; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Boeotia, of which they were in possession, and which would thereby regain their independence ; and the Argives, to renounce Corinth, with the loss of which Argos itself

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.

itself would soon in all probability be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding any thing.

Tiribafus seized Conon, and put him in prison. Not daring to declare openly for the Lacedæmonians, without an exprefs order to that purpose, he contented himself with supplying them underhand with confiderable fums of money, for the equipment of a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppose them. After having taken these precautions, he set out directly for the court, to give the king an account of the state of his negotiation. That prince was well satisfied with it, and directed him in the strongest terms to put the last hand to it. Tiribafus also laid before him the Lacedæmonians accusation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have wrote that he was carried to Susa, and there executed by the king's order. The silence of Xenophon, who was his cotemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful, whether he did not escape from prison, or suffer, as has been said.

In the mean time, till the conclusion of this treaty, several actions little confiderable, passed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was also at the same time, that Evagoras extended his conquests in the island of Cyprus, of which we shall soon treat.

A. M.

3617.

Ant. J. C.

387.

Xenoph.

l. 5. p. 54⁸

—551.

Tiribafus at length upon his return summoned the deputies of the Grecian cities to be present at the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Asia should remain dependent on the king, and that the rest, as well small as great, should have full possession of their liberty. The king further reserved to himself the isles of Cyprus and Clazomena, and left those of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the same treaty he engaged to join with such people as came into it, in order to make

make war by sea and land against all that should refuse to accept it. We have already said it was Sparta itself proposed these conditions.

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MNEMON.

All the other cities of Greece, or at least the greatest part of them, rejected so infamous a treaty with horror. However, as those people were weakened and exhausted by domestick divisions, and not in a condition to support a war against so powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon those who should refuse to come into this peace; they were obliged against their will to comply with it; except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppose it openly at first, but were at length reduced to accept it with the others, by whom they found themselves universally abandoned.

Such was the fruit of the jealousy and divisions, which armed the Grecian cities against each other, and was the end proposed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in distributing sums of money amongst the several states; invincible in arms, and to the sword, but not to the gold and presents of the Persians; so remote were they from the character of the antient Greeks their fore-fathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Persians; the former by Cimon the Athenian under Artaxerxes Longimanus, above sixty years before; and the latter by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the first, Greece victorious and triumphant, assures the liberty of the Asiatick Greeks, gives the law to Persia, imposes what conditions it pleases, and prescribes without bounds, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the sea with their troops than the distance of three days march; or to appear with long vessels in all the extent of the seas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian islands, that is to say, from the Euxine to the coasts of Pamphilia. In the second, on the

Diod. l. 12.
P. 74. 75.

ARTAX.
MAMMON.

the contrary, Persia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleasure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them with the single stroke of a pen, of their empire in Asia Minor, inforcing them to abandon basely all the Greeks established in those rich provinces, to subscribe to their own subjection; and to confine themselves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.

From whence can so strange an alteration arise? Are there not on both sides the same cities, the same people, the same forces, and the same interest? No doubt there are; but they are not the same men, or rather they have no longer the same principles of policy. Let us recal those happy times of Greece, so glorious for Athens and Sparta; when Persia came pouring like a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the East. What was it that rendered the two cities invincible, and superior to such numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good understanding. No dissention between the two states, no jealousy of commanding, no private view of interest; in fine, no other contests between them, but of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

Iloc. in
Panegy.
p. 143.

To so laudable an union may be added an irreconcilable hatred for the Persians, which became a kind of nature in the Greeks, and was the most distinguishing character of that nation. It was a capital crime, and punished with death, only to mention peace, or propose any accommodation with them; and an Athenian mother was seen to throw the first stone at her son, who had dared to make such a motion, and to set others the example of stoning him.

This strict union of the two states, and declared abhorrence of the common enemy, were a long time the potent barriers of their security, rendered them invincible; and may be said to have been the source and principle of all the glorious successes that raised the reputation of Greece to so high a point. But by a misfortune common to the most flourishing

flourishing states, those very successes became the ^{ARTAX.} cause of its ruin, and prepared the way for the dis- ^{MNEMON.} graces it experienced in the sequel.

These two states which might have carried their ^{Iloc. in} victorious arms into the heart of Persia, and have ^{Panegy.} attacked in their turn the great king upon his throne ^{P. 132—} itself; instead of forming in concert such an enter- ^{137.} prize, which would at once have crowned them with ^{In Panath.} glory, and laden them with riches, have the folly to ^{p. 524, 525} leave their common enemy at repose, to embroil themselves with each other upon trivial points of honour, and interests of little importance, and to exhaust the forces ineffectually against themselves, which ought to have been employed solely against the Barbarians, who could not have resisted them. For it is remarkable, that the Persians never had any advantage over the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, whilst they were united together, and that it was their divisions only, which supplied them with the means to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other.

These divisions induced them to take such measures, as neither Sparta nor Athens would have otherwise been capable of. We see both the one and the other dishonour themselves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Persia, but even of his satraps; pay their court to them; earnestly solicit their favour, creep to them, and even suffer their ill humour; and all this to obtain some aid of troops or money, forgetting that the Persians, haughty and insolent with such as seemed afraid of them, became timorous and little to those who had the courage to despise them. But in fine, what did they gain by all these mean condescensions? The treaty, which gave occasion for these reflections, and will for ever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

S E C T. VII.

*War of Artaxerxes against Evagoras king of Salamin.
Elogy and character of that prince. Tiribafus falſly
accuſed; his accuſer puniſhed. . .*

WHAT I have ſaid upon the facility, with which the Greeks might have rendered themſelves formidable to their enemies, will be more evident if we conſider on one ſide, the diverſity of people and extent of country, which compoſed the vaſt empire of the Perſians, and on the other, the weakneſs of the government, incapable of animating ſo great a maſs, and of ſupporting the weight of ſo much buſineſs and application. At the court every thing was carried by the intrigues of women, and the cabals of favourites; whoſe whole merit often conſiſted in flattering their prince, and ſoothing his paſſions. It was upon their credit, officers were choſen, and the firſt dignities diſpoſed of; by their opinion the ſervices of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decreed. The ſequel will ſhew, that from the ſame ſource aroſe the inſurrections of provinces, the diſtruſt of the greateſt part of the governours, the diſcontent and conſequential revolt of the beſt officers, and the ill ſucceſs of almoſt all the enterprizes that were formed.

Artaxerxes, having got rid of the care and perplexity, which the war with the Greeks had occaſioned, applied himſelf to terminating that of Cyprus, which had laſted ſeveral years, but had been carried on with little vigour, and turned the greateſt part of his forces that way.

Iſocrat. in
Evag.
p. 380.

Evagoras reigned at that time in Salamin, the capital city of the iſle of Cyprus. He was deſcended from Teucer of * Salamin, who at his return

* This Teucer was of Salamin, *brated for the famous battle on a little iſland near Athens, celebrated Xerxes.


from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His descendants had reigned there from that time, but a stranger of Phœnicia, having dispossessed the lawful king, had taken his place; and to maintain himself in the usurpation, had filled the city with Barbarians, and subjected the whole island to the king of Persia.

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born, of whose education great care was taken. He was distinguished amongst the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modesty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greatest ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greatest virtues, valour, wisdom, and justice, were observed to brighten in him. He afterwards carried these virtues to so conspicuous an height, as to give jealousy to those that governed; who perceived justly, that so shining a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private condition; but his modesty, probity, and integrity re-assured them, and they reposed an entire confidence in him, to which he always answered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery.

A more justifiable means conducted him to it, which was the divine providence, as Isocrates says, that prepared the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the person upon the throne, and had contrived to seize Evagoras, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit retired to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamin, and expelled the usurper, though supported by the credit and protection of the king of Persia. Having re-established himself in Salamin, he soon rendered his little kingdom most flourishing,

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by his application to the relief of his subjects, and by protecting them in all things ; by governing them with justice and benevolence ; by making them active and laborious ; by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of their lands ; the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He formed them also for war, and made them excellent soldiers.

 He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon, the Athenian general, after his defeat at Ægos-potamos, took refuge with him ; not thinking it possible for him to find a safer asylum, nor a more powerful support of his country. The resemblance of their manners and sentiments soon made them contract a strict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. Conon was in great credit at the king of Persia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the means of Ctesias the physician, to accommodate his differences with his host Evagoras, and happily effected it.

A. M. 3599.
Ant. J. C. 405.
Isocrat. in Evag. P. 393—395.
A. M. 3605.
Ant. J. C. 399.

Evagoras and Conon, with the great design of subverting, or at least of reducing, the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itself formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens ; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption ; which his great services, and zeal for that republick, had deserved. The satraps of Asia saw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themselves in great difficulties, from not being in a condition to make head against them. Evagoras remonstrated to them, that it was necessary to attack the enemy as well by sea as land ; and he did not contribute a little, by his credit with the king of Persia, to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the consequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republick.

A. M. 3610.
Ant. J. C. 304.

The Athenians, in acknowledgment of the important services Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected statues in honour of them. ARTAX. MNEMON. Pausan. l. i. p. 5.

Evagoras on his side, extending his conquests from city to city, endeavoured to make himself master of the whole island. The Cypriots had recourse to the king of Persia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progress of Evagoras, of which he apprehended the effects, and conscious of what importance it was to him to prevent an island's falling into the hands of an enemy, whose situation was so favourable for holding Asia Minor in awe, promised them an immediate and powerful support, without declaring openly however against Evagoras. Diod. l. 14. p. 311.

Being employed elsewhere by more important affairs, he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had promised. That war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success, with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to have removed from the Greeks all terror of the Persian name, and united them against the common enemy. It is true, the succours sent by Artaxerxes till then were ~~little~~ considerable, as they also were the two following years. During all that time it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: But when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks, he applied to it in earnest, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces. A. M. 3614. Ant. J. C. 390. Isocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136. A. M. 3618. Ant. J. C. 386.

The army by land, commanded by Orontes his son-in-law, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet, of three hundred galleys; of which Tiribastus, a Persian of the highest rank and greatest reputation, was admiral. Gaos his son-in-law commanded under him. Evagoras on his side assembled as many troops and ships as he could; but they were an handful, in comparison with the formidable preparation of the Persians. He had a fleet of only Diod. l. 15. p. 328—333.

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four-score and ten galleys, and his army scarce amounted to twenty thousand men. As he had abundance of light vessels, he laid snares for those that carried the provisions of the enemy, of which he sunk a great number, took many, and prevented the rest from arriving; which occasioned a famine amongst the Persians, attended with violent seditions, which could not be appeased but by the coming of fresh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras strengthened his fleet with sixty galleys, which he caused to be built, and fifty, sent him by Achoris king of Ægypt, with all the money and corn he could have occasion for.

Evagoras with his land-forces attacked immediately a part of the enemy's army, which was separate from the rest, and entirely routed it. This first action was soon followed by another at sea, in which the Persians were worsted for some time, till animated by the warm reproaches, and remonstrances of their admiral, they resumed courage, and obtained a compleat victory. Salamin was immediately besieged by sea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his son Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten galleys, and sailed for Egypt, to engage the king to support him vigorously against the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return, he found the city in exceeding distress; and finding himself without resource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were, that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamin, where he should content himself to reign; that he should pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him as a servant to a master. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could never resolve to comply with the last, and persisted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribasus, who com-
manded

manded the siege, would abate nothing of his pretensions.

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Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had wrote secretly to court against him, accusing him amongst other things, of forming designs against the king, and strengthened his accusation from his continuing to hold a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his evident endeavours to make the chiefs of the army his creatures, by the force of presents, promises, and a complacency of manners not natural to him. Artaxerxes upon these letters believed he had no time to lose, and that it was necessary to prevent a conspiracy ready to break out. He dispatched orders immediately to Orontes, to seize Tiribafus, and send him to court in chains, which was instantly put in execution. Tiribafus upon his arrival demanded to be brought to a trial in form; that the heads of the accusation should be communicated to him, and the proofs and witnesses produced. The king, employed in other cares, had no leisure at that time to take cognizance of the affairs.

Orontes in the mean time seeing, that the besieged made a vigorous defence, and that the soldiers of the army, discontented with the removal of Tiribafus, quitted the service and refused to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him. He therefore caused Evagoras to be spoke to underhand; the negotiation was resumed, the offers made by the latter at first were accepted, and the mortifying article, which had prevented the conclusion of the treaty, retrenched. The siege was raised in consequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamin only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.

A. M. .
3619.
Ant. J. C.
385.

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the conclusion of the treaty; for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happiness and tranquillity never interrupted with sickness or disease; the

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usual effect of a sober and temperate life. Nicocles, his eldest son succeeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmost magnificence. The discourse, entitled Evagoras, composed by Isocrates to inspire the young king with the desire of treading in the steps of his father, and from which I have extracted the subsequent elogium, served for his funeral oration. He also addressed another tract to Nicocles which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for well governing. I shall perhaps have room to speak further of them, in the ensuing volume.

Eulogy and character of Evagoras.

Isocrat. in
Evag.

Though Evagoras was only king of a little state, Isocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the most powerful monarchs, and proposes him as the perfect model of a good king, from the assurance, that not the extent of provinces, but extent of mind and greatness of soul, constitute great princes. He does in effect point out to us many qualities truly royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.

Evagoras was not of the number of those princes, who believe, that to reign, it is sufficient to be of the blood royal; and that the birth, which gives a right to the crown, gives also the merit and qualities for the wearing it with honour. He did not fancy, that it could be supposed, that every other condition and station of life, making a kind of apprenticeship necessary to its success, the art of reigning, the most difficult and important of all, should require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a lively and instant penetration which nothing escaped, a solidity of judgment, that immediately resolved what it was necessary to act; qualities, which might seem

seem to dispence with all study and application; and yet as if he had been born without talents, and found himself obliged to supply by study what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embellishment of his mind, and devoted a * considerable part of his time in instructing himself, in reflecting, meditating, and consulting, the judgment and merit of others.

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When he ascended the throne, his greatest care and application was to know mankind, in which principally consists the ability of a prince, and of those who are at the head of affairs. He had no doubt prepared himself for that science by the study of history, which gives a kind of anticipation of it, supplies the place of experience, and teaches us what the men are with whom we are to live, by what they have been in other ages. But we study men quite differently in themselves, by their manners, characters, conduct, and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered him attentive to all persons, who were capable of serving or hurting it. He applied himself to the discovery of their most secret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to assign each his proper post, to bestow authority according to merit, and to make the private and publick good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor punished his subjects, says Isocrates, from the report of others; but solely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, escaped his penetration and enquiry.

He had one quality very seldom found in those who possess the first rank in authority, especially when they believe themselves capable of governing alone; I mean a wonderful docility and attention to

* Ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν, καὶ φροντίζειν, καὶ βουλευέσθαι τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διέτριβεν.

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the sense of others, which arose from a diffidence in his own abilities: With his great qualities, he did not seem to have occasion for recourse to the counsel of others; and nevertheless took no resolution, and formed no enterprize, without having first consulted the wise persons, he had placed about him in his court; instead of which, pride and presumption, the lurking poisons of sovereign power, incline the greatest part of those, who arrive at thrones, either to ask no counsel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon discovering the Excellent in every form of government, and private condition of life, he proposed the uniting of all their high qualities and great advantages in himself; affable and popular as in a republican state; grave and serious as in the councils of the aged and the senate; steady and decisive as monarchy after mature deliberation; a profound politician by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accomplished warrior, from intrepid valour in battle, directed by a wise moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend, and what crowns all his praise * in every circumstance of his character, always great, and always himself.

He supported his dignity and rank, not with an air of pride and haughtiness, but by a serenity of aspect, and a mild and easy majesty, resulting from innate virtue, and the evidence of a good conscience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatness of soul, to which they could not refuse their esteem and admiration.

X But what was most royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his subjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his sincerity, faith, and regard to all his engagements; his hatred, or rather detestation, for all disguises, falshood, and fraud. A single

* Τυράννιστος ἢ τῷ πάντι τέτοις διαφέρειν.

word on his side had as much regard paid to it as the most sacred oath; and it was known that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the least circumstance whatsoever.

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It was by all these excellent qualities, that he effectually reformed the city of Salamin, and entirely changed the face of its affairs in a very short time. He found it gross, savage, and barbarous, without any taste either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do that loves his people, and is beloved by them, who believes himself great and powerful only to render them happy, and knows how to set a just value upon, and do honour to, their labours, industry, and merit of every kind? He had not been many years upon the throne, before arts, sciences, commerce, navigation, and military discipline were seen to flourish at Salamin; in-somuch that the city did not give place to the most opulent of Greece.

Isocrates often repeats, that in the praises he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls short of truth. To what can we attribute a reign so wise, so just, so moderate, so constantly employed in rendering his subjects happy, and in promoting the publick good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, seems to me, to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the having never experienced any other condition but that of master and sovereign, are in my opinion great obstacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high station. Evagoras, who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne in a private and dependent life the yoke of an absolute and despotick power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told upon his ascending the throne, what was said

ARTAX. to a great * emperor. “ † You have not always
 MNEMON. “ been what you now are. Adversity has prepared
 * Trajan. “ you to make a good use of power. You have
 “ lived long with us, and like us. You have been
 “ in danger under bad princes. You have trembled
 “ for yourself, and known by experience how vir-
 “ tue and innocence have been treated.” What he
 had personally suffered, what he had feared for him-
 self or others, what he had seen unjust and un-
 reasonable in the conduct of his predecessors, had
 opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It
 sufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galbo told
 Piso, when he adopted him his associate in the em-
 pire. “ † Remember what you condemned or ap-
 “ plauded in princes, when you were a private
 “ man. You have only to consult the judgment
 “ you then passed upon them, and to act conform-
 “ ably to it, for your instruction in the art of reign-
 “ ing well.”

Trial of Tiribasus,

We have already said, that Tiribasus, having
 been accused by Orontes of forming a conspiracy
 against the king, had been sent to court in chains.
 Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his
 daughter, apprehending, that Artaxerxes would in-
 volve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and
 cause him to be put to death upon mere suspicion,
 conceived he had no other means for his security,
 than an open revolt. He was very well beloved by
 the foldiers, and all the officers of the fleet were
 particularly at his devotion. Without loss of time
 he sent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and

† Quam utile est ad usum se-
 cundorum per adversa venisse!
 Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es,
 timuisti. Quæ tunc erat inno-
 centium vita suis, et expertus es.
Pliny in Panegy.

‡ Utilissimus quidem ac bre-
 vissimus bonarum malorumque
 delectus, cogitare quid aut nolue-
 ris sub alio principe, aut volue-
 ris. *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.*

concluded

concluded a league with him against the king of Persia. Of another side, he solicited the Lacedæmonians warmly to come into that league, with assurances of making them masters of all Greece, and of establishing universally their form of government; at which they had long seemed to aspire. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy this occasion of taking arms against Artaxerxes; the rather because the peace they had concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Asia, had covered them with shame, and filled them with remorse.

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As soon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of * Cyprus, he thought of concluding also the affair of Tiribasus. He was so just to appoint for that purpose three commissioners, who were great lords of Persia of distinguished probity, and of the highest reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination, and an hearing on both sides. For so considerable a crime, as that of having conspired against the king's person, no other proofs were produced, than the letter of Orontes; that is to say, of a declared enemy, studious to supplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been discussed in the usual forms, and that upon the memorial sent by him, the accused would have been condemned without further examination. But that was not the custom with the Persians. By an antiently established regulation, to which amongst other privileges, they had a right by birth, no person was ever to be condemned, without being first heard and confronted with his accusers. This was granted to Tiribasus, who answered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the treaty itself concluded by Orontes

* Diodorus refers the decision shall soon speak; this seems very of this affair, till after the war improbable.
with the Cadusians, of which we

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was his apology ; as it was absolutely the same, that prince had proposed to him, except a condition, which would have done honour to his master. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty he had made them sign sufficiently explained, whether his own, or the king's interests, were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit in the army ; but apprehended, it had not been long a crime to be beloved by the officers and soldiers ; and concluded his defence, in representing the long services he had rendered the king with inviolable fidelity ; and especially his good fortune in having formerly saved his life, when he was hunting, and was near being devoured by two lions. The three commissioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribasus innocent. The king restored him to his former favour, and justly enraged at the black design of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A single example of this kind against informers convicted of falshood, would for ever shut the door against calumny. How many innocents have been oppressed for want of observing this rule, which even the Pagans considered as the basis of all justice, and the guardian of the publick tranquillity.

S E C T. VII.

*The expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians.
History of Datames the Carian.*

Plut. in
Artax.
p. 1023,
1024.

WHEN Artaxerxes had terminated the Cyprian war, he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who it is probable had revolted, and refused to pay the customary tribute ; for authors say nothing as to the occasion of this war. Those people inhabited part of the mountains, situate between the Euxine and Caspian seas in the north of Media. The soil is there so ungrateful, and so little proper for cultivation, that no corn is sowed upon it. The people

people subsist almost entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Enured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reason made excellent soldiers. The king marched against them in person at the head of an army of three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Tiribafus was with him in this expedition.

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MEMOR.

Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country, when his army suffered extremely by famine. The troops could find nothing to subsist upon, and it was impossible to bring provisions from other places, the ways being difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their carriage beasts; which soon became so scarce, that an ass's head was valued at sixty drachmas, and was very hard to be got at that price. The king's table itself began to fall short, and only a few horses remained, the rest having been entirely consumed. 30 lines.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribafus contrived a stratagem, which saved the king and army. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped separately with their troops. Tiribafus, who took care to be informed of all that passed, had been apprized, that there was some mis-understanding between them, and that their jealousy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his design to Artaxerxes, he went himself to one of the kings, and dispatched his son to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and advised him to lose no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promising to assist them with their whole credit. The fraud succeeded. The * pagans thought it lawful to

* Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? *Virgil.*

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use it with their enemies. Ambassadors set out from both princes with Tiribasus and his son in their company.

As this double negotiation lasted some time. Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribasus; and his enemies, taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice, that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had reposed in him, and thereby gave room for those who envied him, to spread abroad their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the most faithful subjects depend with a credulous and suspicious prince. Whilst this past, arrived Tiribasus on his side, and his son on the other; each with ambassadors from the Caducians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribasus became more powerful than ever in his master's favour, and returned with him.

12000 talents.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth six and thirty millions of livres, prevented his having an equal share in the whole fatigue with the meanest soldier. He was seen with his quiver at his back, and his shield on his arm, to dismount from his horse, and march foremost in those rugged and difficult countries. The soldiers observing his patience and fortitude, and animated by his example, became so light, that they seemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well planted, which was the more surprising, as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and excessive cold, he gave the soldiers permission to cut down the wood in this park, without excepting the finest trees, either pines or cyresses. But the soldiers, not being able to resolve

to

to fell timber of such exceeding beauty and stateliness, the king took an ax, and began by cutting the finest and largest tree himself; after which the troops spared none, cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires, as were necessary to their passing the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value great persons generally set upon their gardens and houses of pleasure, we must confess Artaxerxes's generosity in making this sacrifice, which argued a goodness of heart, and a laudable sensibility for the distresses and sufferings of his soldiers: But he did not always support that character.

The king had lost in this enterprize a great number of his best troops, and almost all his horses: And as he imagined, that he was despised upon that account, and the ill success of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more out of distrust, and the fear of their attempting something against him. For such apprehension in a suspicious prince is a very destructive and bloody passion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averse to all jealousy and distrust.

One of the principal officers, that perished in this expedition against the Cadusians, was Camisares, by Cor. Nep. in vit. Datames. nation a Carian, and governour of Leuco-Syria, a province inclosed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His son Datames succeeded him in that government, which was given him in consideration of the good services he had also rendered the king in the same expedition. He was the greatest captain of his time, and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, does not prefer Amilcar and Hannibal to him amongst the Barbarians. It appears from that account, that no one ever excelled him in boldness, valour, and ability in inventing schemes and stratagems, in activity in the execution of his designs, in presence of

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mind to resolve in the heat of action, and to find resources upon the most desperate occasions; in a word, in every thing that regards military knowledge. It seems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illustrious name, than a nobler theatre, and more exalted occasions, and perhaps an historian to have given a more extensive narration of his exploits: For Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them but in a very succinct manner.

He began to distinguish himself particularly, by the execution of a commission, that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted against the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent upon him at first, to try the methods of lenity and reconciliation; which almost cost him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuscades he laid for him. Having escaped so great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he saw himself abandoned by Ariobarzanes, satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealousy prevented from giving him aid. He took his enemy prisoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more sensible by the pleasure of a surprize. He set out with his illustrious prisoner, without giving the court any advice, and made great marches, to prevent its being known from fame before his arrival. When he came to Susa, he equipped Thyus in a very singular manner. He was a man of a very tall stature, of an haggard and terrible aspect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dressed him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this equipage all the ornaments of a king, as he was in effect. For himself, in the gross habit of a peasant, and clad like an hunter, he led Thyus upon the

the left in a leath, like a wild beaft that had been taken in the toils. The novelty of the fight drew the whole city after it: But nobody was fo much furprized and pleafed as the king, when he faw them approach in that pleafant mafquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given Artaxerxes great and juft alarm, and he did not expect to have feen him fofoon in his hands. So fudden and fuccefsful an execution gave him an higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames.

To exprefs his fense of it, he gave him an equal fhare in the command of the army, defigned againft Egypt, with Pharnabafus and Tithrauftes, the two principal perfons in the ftate, and even appointed him general in chief, when he recalled Pharnabafus.

When he was upon the point of fetting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly againft Afpis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commiffion was little important for an officer, who had been appointed general, and befides very dangerous, becaufe it was neceffary to go in queft of the enemy into a very remote country. The king foon perceived his error, and countermanded him: But Datames had fet out directly with an handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was neceffary to furprize and vanquifh the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers difpatched by the king, met Afpis in chains upon the road to Sufa.

Nothing was talked of at the court, but Datames. It was not known which to admire moft, his ready obedience, his wife and enterprizing bravery, or his extraordinary fuccefs. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power. Enemies in fecret to each other, and divided by a contrariety of interefts, and a competition in their pretentions, they

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united together against a superior merit, which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptation. They conspired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and succeeded but too well. As they besieged him perpetually, and he was not upon his guard against persons, who appeared so well affected to his service, they inspired him with jealousy and suspicion, to the prejudice of the most zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames at the court, and who held one of the highest posts there, apprized him of what passed, and of the conspiracy, which had been formed against him, and had already sunk him considerably with the king. * He represented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, should take a bad turn, he would find himself exposed to great danger: That it was the custom with kings to attribute good successes to themselves, and their auspicious fortune only, and to impute the bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were responsible at the peril of their heads: That he ran the greater risque, as all that were about the king's person, and had the ascendant over him, were his declared enemies, and had sworn his destruction.

Upon this advice, Datames resolved to quit the king's service, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magnesia, departed with his own troops for Cappadocia, seized Paphlagonia which joined it, allied himself secretly with Ariobarzanes, raised troops,

* Docet eum magno fore in periculo, siquid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ; quo facile fieri, ut impel-

lantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. *Cor. Nep.*

took possession of fortresses, and put good garrisons into them. He received advice, that the Pisidians were arming against him. He did not wait their coming on, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngest son, who had the misfortune to be killed in a battle. However lively his affliction might be upon that occasion, he concealed his death, lest the bad news should discourage his troops. When he approached near the enemy, his first care was to take possession of an advantageous post. Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who commanded the horse, believing his son entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern or emotion, caused a rumour to be spread throughout the army, that it was only a feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him close, as if he designed to put his troops into a disposition for charging the enemy in two different attacks. The stratagem had all the success he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both sides, and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Pisidians was put to flight, and left Datames master of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.

Datames had not till then declared openly against the king, the actions we have related being only against governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which we have observed before was common enough. His own eldest son, called Scismas, made himself his accuser, and discovered his whole designs to the king. Artaxerxes was highly apprehensive of the consequence. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterprize, without having maturely considered all its consequences, and taken the necessary measures to secure its success; and that till then the execution had always answered the wisdom of his projects. He sent an army against him

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into Cappadocia of almost two hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were horse, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Datames did not amount to the twentieth part of the king's: so that he had no resource but in himself, the valour of his soldiers, and the happy situation of the post he had chosen. For in that consisted his chief excellence; never captain having better known how to take his advantages, or to chuse his ground, when he was to draw up his army in battle.

His post, as I have observed, was infinitely superior to that of the enemy. He had pitched upon a situation, where they could not surround him; where, upon the least movement they made, he could come to blows with them with very considerable advantage; and where, had they resolved to fight, their odds in number would have been absolutely useless to them. Autophradates well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture: but he observed at the same time, that it was much to his dishonour with so numerous an army, to make choice of a retreat, or to continue any longer in inaction before an handful of soldiers. He therefore gave the signal. The first attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates soon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor pursued them for some time with great slaughter. There were only a thousand men killed on the side of Datames.

Several battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; because, perfectly knowing the country, and succeeding in all the stratagems of war, he always posted himself advantageously, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themselves without loss. Autophradates seeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his supplies entirely exhausted, and despairing of ever being able

to subject by force so artful and valiant an enemy, treated an accommodation, and proposed to him, the being restored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant, that there was little security for him in such a choice, because princes are seldom reconciled in earnest with a subject, who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they see themselves in some sort obliged to submit. However as only despair had hurried him into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart the sentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he accepted the offers with joy, which would put an end to the violent condition his misfortune had engaged him in, and afforded him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the service of the prince to whom they were due. He promised to send deputies to the king; upon which ensued a cessation of arms, and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiously enraged against him, had changed the esteem and affection, he formerly professed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himself incapable of conquering him by the force of arms, he was not ashamed to employ artifice and treachery: means unworthy every man of honour, and how much more so of a prince! He hired several murderers to assassinate him; but Datames was so happy to escape their ambuscades. At length Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promises, if he could deliver him from so formidable an enemy, having insinuated himself into his friendship, and having long treated him with all the marks of the most entire fidelity to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity, when he was alone, and stabbed him with his sword, before he was in a condition to defend himself.

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Thus * fell this great captain in the snares of a pretended friendship, who had always thought it his honour to observe the most inviolable fidelity, in regard to those with whom he had any engagements. Happy, had he always piqued himself also upon being as faithful a subject, as he was a true friend; and if he had not, in the latter part of his life, tarnished the lustre of his heroick qualities, by the ill use he made of them; which neither the fear of disgrace, the injustice of those who envied him, the ingratitude of his master for the services he had rendered him, nor † any other pretext could sufficiently authorize,

I am surprized, that comparable as he was to the greatest persons of antiquity, he has remained in a manner buried in silence and oblivion. His great actions and exploits are however worthy of being preserved in history. For it is in such small bodies of troops, as those of Datames, that the whole soul is exerted, in which the highest prudence is shewn, and in which chance hath no share, and the abilities of a general appear in their full light.

* Ita vir, qui multos consilio neminem perfidia ceperat, simulata captus est amicitia. Cor. Nep.

† This doctrine of Mr. Rollin's may do very well in France, where implicit obedience to the grand monarch is the law of the land; but it has too much of that exploded absurdity, passive obedience, (founded in an erroneous accepta-

tion of religion,) to be admitted in a free nation; where, by the maxims of the law, and the constitution of the government, the subject in many instances is dispensed from his obedience; and may defend himself (even in arms) against his prince: viz. in cases of life and liberty.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Socrates abridged.

AS the death of Socrates is one of the most considerable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that subject with all the extent it deserves. In this view I shall premise some things, which are necessary to the reader's having a just idea of this prince of the philosophers.

Two authors will supply me principally with what I have to say upon this subject, Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates. It is to them posterity is indebted for many of his discourses, (* that philosopher having left nothing in writing,) and for an ample account of all the circumstances of his condemnation and death, Plato was an eye-witness of the whole, and relates in his apology the manner of Socrates's accusation and defence; in his Criton, his refusal to make his escape out of prison: In his Phædon, his admirable discourse upon the immortality of the soul, which was immediately followed with his death. Xenophon was absent at that time, and upon his return after the expedition of young Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes: So that he wrote his apology of Socrates only upon the report of others, but his actions and discourses in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

* Socrates, cujus ingenium rem nullam reliquit. Cic. de
varioſque ſermones immortalitati orat. l. 3. n. 57.
ſcriptis ſuis Plato tradidit, lite-

S E C T. I.

Birth of Socrates. He applies at first to sculpture; then to the study of the sciences: His wonderful progress in them. His taste for moral philosophy: His manner of living, and sufferings from the ill humour of his wife.

A. M.

3533.

Ant. J. C.

471.

Diog. La-

ert. in So-

crat. p. 100

Id. p. 110.

Plut. in

Theatet.

p. 149, &c.

Paus. l. 9.

p. 596.

Diog.

p. 101.

SOCRATES was born at Athens in the fourth year of the seventy seventh olympiad. His father was a sculptor named Sophroniscus, and his mother a midwife, called Phanarete. Hence we may observe that meanness of birth is no obstacle to true merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's or mother's profession. He was surprized that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to mould an insensible stone into the likeness of a man, and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone. He would often say, that he exercised the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated subjects in so simple, natural, and pure an order, that he made those with whom he disputed, say what he would, and find an answer themselves for all the questions he proposed to them. He at first learnt his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. In the time of Pausanias, there was a Mercury and the graces to be seen at Athens of his workmanship, and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found place amongst those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconsistent for a young

young man capable of the greatest things to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chissel in his hand. He was the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been the same to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physicks, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, stars, and planets; according to the custom of those times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known, and Xenophon assures us of his being very learned in it. Lib. 4. But * after having found by his own experience, how Memorab. P. 710. difficult, abstruse, intricate, and also little useful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, to use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might render them more rational, just, and virtuous. Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. P. 710. He found there was a kind of folly in laying out all the vivacity of his mind, and employing his whole time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness; whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable, or opposite, to piety, justice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance,

* Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit; et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quærere. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. 5. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis, et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante e-

um philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cœlestia autem vel procul esse à nostra cognitione censeret, vel si maximè cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. *Cic. Acad. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 17.

and

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and wisdom consist ; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well. We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.

It was so far from preventing him to discharge the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of rendering him more perfect in them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens ; but with purer and more elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was present in many actions, and always distinguished himself by his valour and fortitude. He was seen towards the end of his life, giving in the senate, of which he was a member, the most shining proofs of his zeal for justice, without being intimidated by the greatest dangers before his eyes.

He had accustomed himself early to a sober, severe, laborious life ; without which it seldom happens, that men are capable of discharging the greatest part of the duties of a good citizen. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing, and believed, the less we were contented with, the nearer we approached to the divinity. * Seeing the pomp and shew displayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and silver exhibited in them : “ How many things” said he, congratulating himself on his condition, “ do I not want !” *Quantis non egeo !*

Xenoph.
Memorab.
l. i. p. 731.

Liban. in
Apolog.
Socrat.
p. 640.

His father left him fourscore minæ, that is to say, four thousand livres, which he lent to one of his friends who had occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he lost the whole, and suffered that misfortune with such indifference and tranquillity, that he did not so much as complain of it. We find in Xenophon's œcono-

Xenoph.
œcon. p.
822.

* Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argenteaque ferretur : Quam multa non desidero inquit. *Cic. Tusc. Q. 2. lib. l. 5.*

knicks, that his All amounted to no more than five minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richest persons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: * *If I had money, said he one day in an assembly of his friends, I should buy me a cloak.* He did not address himself to any body in particular, but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this small present: which was being too slow, says Seneca; their own observation ought to have prevented both the want and the demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus king of Macedonia, who was desirous of having him come and live with him; adding, *that he would not go to a man, who could give him more than it was in his power to return.* Another philosopher does not approve this answer. "Was it making a prince a small return" says Seneca, "to deceive him in his false ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inspire him with a contempt for riches; to shew him the right use of them; to instruct him in the great art of reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live and how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true reason, which prevented his going to the court of that prince, was, that he did not think it consistent for him to seek a voluntary servitude, whose liberty a free city could not suffer him to enjoy." *Noluit ire ad voluntariam servitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit.*

The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose, as was common enough

* Socrates amicis audientibus: *Emissem, inquit, pallium, finum-mus haberem. Neminem poposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit—Post hoc quisquis properaverit, sero dat, jam Socrati defuit. Senec. de benef. l. 7. c. 24.*

with

ASTAN
MEMOR

Senec. de
benef. l. 5.
c. 6.

Xenoph.
in conviv.

ARTAX.
MNEMON.Ælian. l. 4.
c. 11 & 1.9.
c. 35.

with the philosophers of those times. In company and conversation he was always gay and pleasant, and the sole joy and spirit of the entertainment. Tho' he was very poor, he piqued himself upon the neatness of his person and house, and could not suffer the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged cloaths. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discovered.

Senec. de
ira. l. 3.
c. 15.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of soul, that no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature hasty and passionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflections and endeavours to subdue and correct himself; which still augments its merit. Seneca tells us, that he had desired his friends to apprise him whenever they saw him ready to fall into a passion. * Indeed the best time to call in aid against rage and anger, which have so violent and sudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourselves, and in cool blood. At the first signal, the least animadversion, he either lowered his voice, or was silent. Finding himself in great emotion against a slave: "I would beat you," says he, "if I were not angry:" Ibid. l. 1. c. 15. *Cederem te, nisi irascetur.* Having received a box of the ear, he contented himself with only saying with a smile: 'Tis a misfortune not to know when to arm one's head with an helmet. Ibid. l. 3. c. 11.

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience in all its extent. Xantippe his wife put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, violent disposition. It seems, before he took her for his companion, that

* Contra potens malum et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspicimus, et nostri sumus, advocemus.

he was not ignorant of her character; and he says himself in Xenophon, that he had expressly chosen her, from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults, there would be no body, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of so violent and fantastical a spirit and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of choler, as to tear off his cloke in the open street; and even one day after having vented all the reproaches her fury could suggest, she emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed, and said, *that so much thunder must needs produce a shower.*

ARTAX.
MNEMON.
Xenoph.
in conviv.
p. 876.

Diog. in
Socrat.
p. 112.

Some antient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife, named Myrto, who was the granddaughter of Aristides the just, and that he suffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the offence they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to repair the sooner the ruins of the republick, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time; and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Those authors found this circumstance solely upon a passage in a treatise on nobility, ascribed to Aristotle. But besides that, according to Plutarch himself, Panetius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion; neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their master, say any thing of this second marriage of Socrates; and on another side, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, are alike silent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy.

Plut. in
Aristid.
P. 335.
Athen.
l. 13. p. 555
Diog. La-
ert. in So-
crat. p. 105

ARTAX.
MEMOR.

bigamy. We shall see in the first volumes of the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, when published, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardion's upon this subject, wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are supposititious facts.

S E C T. II.

Of the Dæmon, or familiar spirit of Socrates.

Cic. de divin. l. 1.
n. 122.

Pag. 584.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he said, had assisted him with its counsel and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed amongst authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word, *Δαίμων*, that signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners are supposed to have had: This genius diverted him from forming any enterprises, that might have been prejudicial to him, without ever enjoining him any action: *Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti*. Plutarch, in his treatise which has for its title, *Of the genius of Socrates*, repeats the different sentiments of the antients upon the existence and nature of this genius. I shall confine myself to that of them, which seems the most natural and reasonable, though he does not lay much stress upon it.

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity; that man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures: that those who have succeeded best in that research, are such, who by a more exact and received comparison of the different causes, that may influence future events, have distinguished with more force and perspicuity, what would be the result and issue

issue of the conflict of those different causes, and how contribute to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprize. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approaches us to the divinity, and makes us participate in some measure in his counsels and designs, by giving us an insight and prescience to a certain degree of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence *divine*, *something divine*, using indeed a kind of equivocality in the expression, without attributing to himself however the merit of his wisdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in Tom. IV. the dissertation he has left us upon this subject in the P. 368. memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres.

The effect, or rather function of this genius was to stop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were ready to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to him; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves very unfortunate for not having hearkened to him. Now what other signification can be given to this, than that it implies under mysterious terms, a mind, which by its proper lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity. And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct, if at bottom he had desired any thing to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom, which speaks in every man by the voice of reason; would he have escaped, says Xenophon, the censure of arrogance and falsehood?

God has always prevented me from speaking to you, says he to Alcibiades, whilst the weakness of

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your age would have rendered my discourses ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter in to dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republick. Is it not visible here, that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades seriously at a time, when grave and severe conversation would have given him a disgust, of which he might perhaps never have got the better. And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates ascribes his avoiding publick business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his apology, that a just and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt state, is not long without perishing? If, when he appears before the judges that were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his dæmon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with passion, may easily prophesy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inspiration.

Lib. 6. de
rep. p. 496.
Apolog.
Soc. p. 31,
32.

Ibid. p. 40.

De anim.
tranquil.
P. 474.

It must be allowed however, that the opinion, which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. Plutarch cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, *That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director.*

Ἄπαρτι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρατατῇ
Ἐὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τῇ βίῃ
Ἀγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made it a question, whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting upon the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatsoever. That opinion might exalt him very much in the sense of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which the * greatest persons of the pagan world, were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences with some divinity: but it drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.

* *Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zaleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numæ Pompilius boasted his conferences with the goddess Egeria. The first Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even Sertorius's hind had something divine in it.*



S E C T. III.

Socrates declared the wisest of mankind by the oracle of Delphos.

Plat. in
Apolog.
p. 21, 22.

THIS declaration of the oracle, so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming envy, and stirring up of enemies against him, as he tells us himself in his apology, wherein he recounts the occasion, and true sense of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous disciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world. The priestess replied there was none. This answer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could scarce comprehend the sense of it. For on the one side, he well knew, says he of himself, that there was neither much nor little wisdom in him; and on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falshood; the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore considered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the sense of it. At first he applied himself to a powerful citizen; a statesman, and a great politician, who passed for one of the wisest men in the city, and who was himself as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his conversation that he knew nothing, and insinuated as much to himself in terms sufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were present. He did the same by several others of the same profession; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the statesman he addressed himself to the poets, whom he found still fuller of self-esteem, but in effect, more void of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his enquiries to the artificers, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own

own art, did not believe himself very capable, and fully informed in all that was great besides; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all. His enquiries amongst strangers were not more successful.

Socrates afterwards entering into, and comparing, himself with all those he had questioned, * discovered, that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he sincerely professed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that only God is truly wise, and that the true meaning of his oracle was to make known, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or to speak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men: The wisest amongst you is he, who knows like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

* Socrates in omnibus ferè sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum, eoque præstare cæteris, quod illi, quæ nesciant, scire se putent; ipse se nihil scire id unum sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quod hæc esset una omnis sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quod nesciat. *Cic. Acad. Quest. l. i. n. 15, 16.*



S E C T. IV.

Socrates devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his disciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inspires them either for government or religion.

AFTER having related some particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that, in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted; I mean the pains he took to instruct mankind, and particularly in forming the youth of Athens.

In Apol.
Socrat.
p. 641.

He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of the republick, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

Plut. an
seni sit. ger.
reip. p. 796

He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers, nor set time for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the publick assemblies of the senate or people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison he philosophized, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to establish a great principle in point of government which Seneca * before him had placed in all its light. To be

* Habet ubi se etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus — Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit

be a publick man, says he, it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magistrate, and to sit upon the greatest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons and often confounded with the lowest and meanest of the populace. But whoever knows to give wise counsel to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and love of their country; This is, says Plutarch, the true magistrate and ruler, in whatsoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The services he did the state, by the instructions he gave their youth, and the disciples he formed, are inexpressibly great. Never had master a greater number or so illustrious. Plato, though alone, were worth a multitude. Upon Plat. in the point of death he blessed and thanked God for three things, that he had indued him with a rational soul, that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates, Xenophon had the same advantage. It is said, that one day Socrates met him in the street, and stopping him with his staff, asked him whether he knew where provisions were sold. It was not difficult to reply to this question. But Socrates ha-

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MEMON.

Mario.
P. 433.

Diog. in
Xenoph.
P. 120.

rit prodesse velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio. Nec enim is solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque censet, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prenset ac retrahit, et si nihil aliud certe moratur, in

privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanus prætor ad euntibus adfessoris verba pronunciat; quam qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid decorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum sit conscientia? Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. 3.

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ving demanded in what place men learned virtue, and seeing this second question put him to the stand: If you desire to know it, continued the philosopher, follow me, and you shall be informed: Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the first who collected and published his master's discourses.

Plut. de
Curios.
p. 516.

Aristippus, upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some strokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived so ardent a passion to become his disciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go and drink at the fountain head his fill of philosophy, that taught the knowledge and remedy of evil.

Plut. in
Peric.
p. 168.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains still better how high the passion of Socrates's disciples ran, to receive the benefit of his instructions. There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. He quitted his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

Aul. Gel.
Noct. Att.
l. 6. c. 10.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher however never spared him, and was always ready to allay the violence of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great disease. One day when Alcibiades was setting off his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, (which generally blow

Ælian. l. 3.
c. 28.

blow up young people of quality) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarce be discerned upon that draught; he found it however, though with some difficulty: But upon being desired to point out his own estate there: It is too small, says he, to be distinguished in so little a space. See then, replied Socrates, how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land. This reasoning might have been urged much further still. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself, to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces; and how much of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of every thing, and aspired at the first employments. One of these, named Glauco, had taken it so strongly into his head, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a design so little consistent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his brother, was the only person that could prevail upon him to change his resolution.

Xenoph.
memorab.
l. 3. p. 772
—774.

Meeting him one day, he accosted him so happily with discourse, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. You are desirous then to govern the republick, said he to him. True, replied Glauco. You cannot have a more noble design, answered Socrates: For if you succeed, you will have it in your power to serve your friends effectually, to aggrandize

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dize your family, and to extend the confines of your country. You will make yourself known, not only to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps your renown, like that of Themistocles, may spread abroad amongst the barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, you will attract the respect and admiration of the whole world.

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was taken by his blind side. He stayed willingly, gave no occasion to press him to that purpose, and the conversation continued. ~~Since~~ you desire to be esteemed and honoured, no doubt you have in view to be useful to the publick. Certainly. Tell me then, I beg you in the name of the gods, what is the first service you propose to render the state. As Glauco ~~seemed~~ at a loss, and meditated upon what he should answer: I presume, continues Socrates, it is to enrich it, that is to say, to augment its revenues. My very thought. You are well versed then assuredly in the revenues of the state, and know perfectly to what they may amount. You have not failed to make them your particular study, in order that if a fund should happen to fail by any unforeseen accident, you might be able to supply the deficiency with another. I protest, replied Glauco, That never entered into my thoughts. At least you will tell me at what the expences of the republick are computed; for you must know how important it is to retrench such as are superfluous. I own I am as little informed in this point as the other. You must therefore refer your design of enriching the state till another time; for it is impossible you should do it, whilst you are unacquainted with its revenues and expences.

But said Glauco, there is still another means, which you have not mentioned; a state may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies. You are in the right, replied Socrates. But that depends upon its being the strongest; otherwise it incurs the hazard
of

of losing what it has. For which reason, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both sides; that if he finds his own party strongest, he may boldly advise the war, and if weakest, dissuade the people from undertaking it. Now do you know the strength of our republick and that of our enemies by sea and land? Have you a state of them in writing; be so kind to let me see it. I have it not at present, said Glauco. I see then, said Socrates, that we shall not presently enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of enquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will resolve upon it.

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He ran over in this manner several other articles no less important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted, till he brought him to confess, how ridiculous those people were, who have the rashness to intermeddle in the government, without any other preparation to act in it, than that of an high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities. Have a care, dear Glauco, said he to him, least a too warm desire of honours should deceive you into pursuits, that may cover you with shame, by setting your incapacity and slender abilities in full light.

Glauco gave attention to the wise admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himself in private, before his appearance in publick. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon publick employments; but first to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge necessary to their success in them. A man must be very simple, said he, to believe that the mechanick arts can be acquired without the help of proper masters, and that the knowledge requisite in governing states, which is the greatest effect of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application. His great care in

Xenoph.
memorab.
l. 4 p. 800.
Ibid.
P 792.

ARTAX.
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in regard to those, who aspired to publick employments, was to form their manners upon the solid principles of probity and justice; and especially to inspire them with a sincere love of their country, with the most ardent passion for the publick good, and an high idea of the power and goodness of the gods: because without these qualities, all other abilities serve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has transmitted to us a conversation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the antients,

Did you never reflect with yourself, says Socrates to Euthydemus, how much care the gods have taken to bestow upon man all that is necessary to his nature. Never I assure you, replied he. You see, continued Socrates, how necessary light is, and how precious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us. Without it, added Euthydemus, we should be like the blind, and all nature as if it were not, or had expired; But because we have occasion for suspense and relaxation, they have also given us the night for our repose. You are in the right, and for this we ought to render them continual praises and thanksgiving. They have ordained that the sun, that bright and luminous star, should preside over the day to distinguish its different parts, and that its light should not only serve to discover the wonders of nature, but to dispense universal life and heat; and at the same time they have commanded the moon and stars to illuminate the night, of itself dark and obscure. Is there any thing more admirable than this variety and vicissitude of day and night, of light and darkness, of labour and rest; and all this for the convenience and good of man? Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the occasions of life; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of providence in all that regards us. What say you, pursued

fued he, upon the sun's return after winter to re-visit us, and that as the fruits of one season wither and decay, he ripens new ones to succeed them? That having rendered man this service, he retires, least he should incommode him by excess of heat, and then after having removed to a certain point, which he could not pass without putting us in danger of perishing with cold, that he returns in the same track to resume his place in those parts of the heavens, where his presence is more beneficial to us. And because we could neither support the cold or heat, if we were to pass in an instant from the one to the other, do you not admire, that whilst this star approaches and removes so slowly, the two extremities arrive by almost insensible degrees. * Is it possible not to discover in this disposition of the seasons of the year, a providence and goodness, not only intent upon our necessities, but also upon our delights and enjoyments.

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All these things, said Euthydemus, make me doubt, whether the gods have any other employment than to shower down their gifts and graces upon mankind. There is one point however, that puts me to a stand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all these blessings as well as ourselves. Yes, replied Socrates: but do you not observe, that all these animals subsist only for man's service? The strongest and most vigorous of them he subjects at his will, he makes them tame and gentle, and uses them successfully in his wars, his labours, and the other occasions of life.

What if we consider man in himself. Here Socrates examines the diversity of the senses, by the ministry of which, man enjoys all that is best and most excellent in nature; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reason, which exalt him infi-

* Ὡς ἀρμοστίσας πρὸς τὸ μέγα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα παρασκευί-
παρέχειν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐν μόνον ἂν διό- ζουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εὐφραίνει μεῖσα.

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MEMOR.

nitely above all other animals ; the wonderful gift of speech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publish our laws, and govern states.

From all this, says Socrates, it is easy to discern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot discover them by his senses. Do we perceive the thunder, whilst it strikes through all things which oppose it? Do we distinguish the winds, whilst they are tearing up all before them in our view? Our soul itself with which we are so intimate, which moves and acts us, is it visible, can we behold it? It is the same with regard to the gods, of whom none are visible in the distribution of their favours. The GREAT GOD himself, (these words are remarkable, and demonstrate that Socrates acknowledged one supreme God, the author of all being, superior to all others, who were only the ministers of his will,) this great God, who has formed the universe, and supports the stupendous work, whose every part is finished with the utmost goodness and harmony: He who preserves them perpetually in immortal vigour, and causes them to obey him with a never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed by our imagination; this God makes himself sufficiently visible by the endless wonders of which he is author; but continues always invisible in himself. Let us not then refuse to believe even what we do not see, and let us supply the defect of our corporeal eyes, by using those of the soul; but especially let us learn to render the just homage of respect and veneration to the divinity, whose will it seems to be, that we should have no other perception of him than by his effects in our favour. Now this adoration, this homage, consists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in doing his will.

Xenoph.

Memorab.
14. p. 803
& 805.

In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the principles and sentiments he inspired into them; on the one side, a perfect submission to the laws

laws and magistrates, in which he made justice consist; on the other, a profound regard for the divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they impart themselves only to those that please them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a wise and attentive conduct. * *The gods are wise, says he, and it depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us the directly reverse of it.* He cites an excellent prayer from an anonymous poet: *Great God, give us, we beseech, those good things of which we stand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove from us all those, which may be hurtful to us, though we implore them of you.* The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice: But Socrates taught, that the gods observe all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our most secret thoughts, are present in all our deliberations, and that they inspire us in all our actions.

* Ἐπὶ θεῶν ἐστὶν αἴμας, ὥςτις καὶ χάρις, καὶ πάντων τέτατον. Plut. in Alcib. 2. p. 148.
 διδόναι αὐτῇ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνχομένην τυγ-



S E C T. V.

Socrates applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be understood of the ironical character ascribed to him.

Plut. in
Apolog.
p. 19, 20.

SOCRATES found it necessary to prejudice the young people against a bad taste, which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A sect of assuming men arose, who ranking themselves as the first sages of Greece, were entirely the reverse in their conduct. For instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, as were Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others who made the study of wisdom their principal occupation, these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge. * They were called sophists, and wandered from city to city. They caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crouds of their disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents, to follow these proud teachers, whom they paid dearly for their instruction. There was nothing these masters did not profess: Theology, physicks, ethicks, arithmetick, astronomy, grammar, musick, poetry, rhetorick, and history. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them like Gorgias, valued themselves upon giving immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples acquired nothing from their precepts, but a silly esteem for themselves, and an universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools,

* Sic enim appellantur hi, fa philosophantur Cic. in Lu.
qui ostentationis aut questus cau- cul. n. 129.

but was more impertinent than when he first entered them. ARTAX.
MNEMON.

It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logick of these proud teachers in the sense of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and dispute with them in a direct manner by a continued discourse, was what Socrates could well have done, for he possessed in a supreme degree the talents of speaking and reasoning; but this was no means to succeed against great haranguers, whose sole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another course, and * making use of the turns and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal under the appearance of simplicity, and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for sustaining the ironick character. He was very ugly, and besides that, † had something very blockish and stupid in his physiognomy. The whole air of his person, which had nothing not very common and poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

When ‖ he happened into the company of some one of these sophists, he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, asked simple questions in a

* Socrates in ironia dissimulantiaque longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit. *Cic. l. 2. de orat. n. 270.*

† Zopyrus physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum. *Cic. de Fat. n. 10.*

‖ Socrates de se, ipse detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illa dissimulatione, quam Græci *επιστροφή*

vocant. *Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 15.*

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut è Platone intelligi potest, lutos videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibus cum diserebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret. *Cic. de finib. l. 2. n. 2.*

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plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention, and instead of giving him a precise answer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates after having praised (not to enrage) his adversary, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, by satisfying his questions in a few words; because neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining so many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to question and answer.

This passed in a numerous assembly, and the scientifick person could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his entrenchment, by obliging him to answer his questions succinctly, he carried him on from one to another to the most absurd consequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himself, or be silent, he complained, that the learned man would not vouchsafe to instruct him. The young people however perceived the incapacity of their master, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of sophist became odious and ridiculous.

It is easy to judge, that men of the sophist's character, of which I have now spoke, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongst the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, because they had been taken in the two most sensible points, their fame, and their interest. Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmask their vices, and discredit their false eloquence, experienced from these corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the most malignant envy, and the most envenomed hatred; which it is now time to explain.

S E C T.

Plat. in
Apolog.
P. 23.

SECT. VI.

Socrates is accused of holding bad opinions in regard to the Gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himself without art or fear. He is condemned to die.

SOCRATES was accused a little before the first year of the XCV Olympiad soon after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants out of Athens, in the sixty ninth year of his life, but the prosecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphos, which had declared him the wisest of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the sophists of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the singular attachment of his disciples for his person, and maxims, had concurred in alienating people against him and had drawn abundance of envy upon him.

His enemies having sworn his destruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, planted their batteries at distance, and at first attacked him in the dark and by obscure and secret practices. It is said, that to sound the people's disposition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be safe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Aristophanes to bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were dispersed; it is not certain whether Aristophanes was suborned by Anytus, and the rest of Socrates's enemies, to compose a satyrical piece against him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for those of Aristophanes in particular, whilst he professed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philosopher. However it were,

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Q 2

Aristo.

A. M.
3602.
Ant. J. C.
402.

Ælian l. 2.
c. 13.
Plat. in
Apolog.
Socrat. p.
19.

ARTAK.
MNEMON.

Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry, did lend his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies, or his own resentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the best and most excellent man, that ever the pagan world produced.

He composed a piece called *the clouds*, wherein he introduced the philosopher, perched in a basket, and hoisted up amidst the air and clouds, from whence he vents maxims, or rather the most ridiculous subtleties, a very aged debtor, who was desirous to escape the close pursuits of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law, to prove by unanswerable reasons that he owes them nothing, and in a word of a very bad, to make a very good cause. But finding himself incapable of any improvements from the sublime lessons of his new master, he brings his son to him in his stead. This young man soon after quits this learned school, so well instructed, that at their first meeting, he beats his father, and proves to him by subtle but invincible arguments, that he has reason for treating him in that manner. In every scene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thousand impertinencies, and as many impieties against the gods; and in particular against Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greatest vanity and opinion of himself, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of a criminal curiosity is for penetrating what passes in the heavens, and for diving into the abysses of the earth; who boasts of having always the means to make injustice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping those secrets for himself, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery and a salt, which could not fail of pleasing a people of so quick and delicate a taste as the Athenians, who were besides naturally invidious of all transcendent merit. They were so much charmed with it, that without waiting the conclusion of the representation, they ordered the name of Aristophanes

phanes to be set down above those of all his competitors.

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Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be acted in the theatre, went thither upon the day to see the comedy, contrary to his custom; for it was not common for him to go to those assemblies, unless when some new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whose pieces he esteemed, upon account of the solid principles of morality he took care to intersperse in them. It was however remarked, that he had not patience to wait the conclusion of one of them, wherein the actor had began with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately, without considering the injury his withdrawing might do his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unless when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither against his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of seeing the reputation of his fellow citizens publicly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being in pain to know who the Socrates intended by the play was, he Plut. de educ. lib. p. 10. rose up from his seat, and shewed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was proper to understand raillery.

There is no appearance, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, tho' he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet, who diverted the publick at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those, who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making

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great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with skill. In acting a man upon the stage, he is only represented on his bad, weak or ambiguous sides. That view of him is followed with ridicule: ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally bold in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an assay and tryal of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republick might well occasion that long delay. For it was in that interval the enterprize against Sicily happened; the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lyfander, who changed it's form of government, and established the thirty tyrants, that were not expelled, till a very small time before the affair we speak of.

A. M.

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Melitus then appeared as accuser, and entered a process in form against Socrates. His accusation was couched in two heads. The first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republick, and introduced new divinities: the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring that sentence of death ought to pass against him.

Never had accusation so little likelihood, pretext or foundation as this. It was now forty years, that Socrates has made it his profession to instruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in secret, and in the dark. His lessons were given publicly and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accusation, after such a length

length of time? How came his zeal for the publick good, after having been languid and drowsy for so many years, to awake on a sudden, and become so violent? Is it pardonable, for so warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilst any one corrupted the whole youth of the city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and by inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established government. For he, who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. Libanius speaks thus in a declamation of his called the apology of Socrates. But continues he, tho' Melitus, whether out of distraction, indifference, or real avocation of his affairs, never thought for so many years of entering an accusation against Socrates; how came it to pass, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wise magistrates, and what is more with bold informers, so publick a conspiracy, as that attributed to Socrates, should escape the eyes of those, whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity, render so vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever less feasible, nor more void of all probability.

As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lyfias, the most able orator of his times, brought him an elaborate discourse of his composing; wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in all their light, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetick strokes, capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetorick than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly, that it did not suit him. Upon which Lyfias, having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him; in the same manner, said he, using according to his custom a vulgar comparison, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent ap-

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parel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which however would not fit me. He persisted therefore inflexibly in the resolution, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence. He had no recourse either to sollicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Nevertheless * tho' he firmly refused to make use of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal. It was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul and the consciousness of his truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament but that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions composed from it the work, which he calls *The apology of Socrates*, one of the most consummate masterpieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

Plat. in
Apolog.
Socrat.
Xenoph. in
Apol. Socr.
& in Memor.

Upon the day assigned, the process opened in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion had he of address and art to cover it's weakness. He omitted nothing, that might render the adverse party odious, and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive shine of a lively

* His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus supplex fuit; adhibuitque li-

beram contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbia. Cic. *Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1.*

and

and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that as to him he scarce knew himself, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, tho' there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

I have already said, that their accusation consisted in two heads. The first regards religion. Socrates enquires out of an impious curiosity into what passes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worship, and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inspires him in all his actions. To make short, he believes there are no gods.

The second head relates to the interest and government of the state. Socrates corrupts the youth by instilling bad sentiments concerning the divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order established in the republic; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by lot; by exclaiming against the publick assemblies, where he is never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good; by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuse their parents with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reserve, all their maxims and actions; constituting himself by his own authority the general censor

* Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect is wanted, no body is willing to take him at a venture; *tho' the faults of these people are far from being of the great importance those errors are, which are committed in the administration of the republic.* Xenoph. Memorab. l. 1. p. 712.

and

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and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which, the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischiefs to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens, and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges, to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address, which he would employ to deceive them.

Plat. p. 17. Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.

Ibid. p. 27. He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alledged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republick; he, who has been often seen to sacrifice in his own house, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses divination or not, whilst it is made a crime in him to report, that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and thence concluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others who putting their faith in divination, observe the flight of birds, consult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters: different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future, old or new, it is evident always, that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to say, subaltern spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

Ibid. 710. As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without despising or condemning those who apply themselves to the study of physicks, he declares, that as for him, he had
entirely

entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than all other attainments; and he calls to witness all those who have been his hearers, and who may come forth to bely him if he does not say what is true.

“ I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of
“ instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in
“ regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of
“ government. You know, Athenians, that I never
“ made it my profession to teach, nor can en-
“ vy, as animated as it is against me, reproach me
“ with having ever sold my instructions. I have
“ an undeniable evidence for me in this respect,
“ which is my poverty. Always equally ready to
“ communicate my thoughts either to the rich or
“ poor, and to give them entire leisure to question
“ or answer me, I lend myself to every one who is
“ desirous of becoming virtuous; and if amongst
“ those who hear me, there are any that prove ei-
“ ther good or bad, neither the virtues of the one,
“ nor the vices of the other, to which I have not
“ contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole
“ employment is to persuade the young and old
“ against too much love for the body, for riches,
“ and all other precarious things of whatsoever na-
“ ture they be, and against too little regard for the
“ soul which ought to be the object of their affec-
“ tion: For I incessantly urge to you, that virtue
“ does not proceed from riches, but on the contra-
“ ry riches from virtue, and that all the other goods
“ of human life, as well publick as private, have
“ their source in the same principle.

“ If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth,
“ I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and de-
“ serve to be punished. Should I not say the truth,
“ it is most easy to convict me of my falsehood,
“ I see here a great number of my disciples: they
“ have only to appear. But perhaps the reserve and
“ considera-

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“ ther amongst us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly
 “ applies himself to prevent the violation of the
 “ laws and the practise of iniquity in a government,
 “ will never do so long with impunity. It is ab-
 “ solutely necessary for him, who would contend
 “ for justice, if he has any thoughts of living, to
 “ remain in a private station, and never to have any
 “ share in publick affairs.

Plat. p. 34,
35.

“ For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme
 “ danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour
 “ of those, who upon less emergencies, have im-
 “ plored and supplicated their judges with tears,
 “ and have brought forth their children, relati-
 “ ons and friends, it is not through pride and obsti-
 “ nacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for
 “ your honour, and for that of the whole city.
 “ You should know, that there are amongst our ci-
 “ tizens, those who do not regard death as an evil,
 “ and who give that name only to injustice and in-
 “ famy. At my age, and with the reputation
 “ true or false which I have, would it be consistent
 “ for me, after all the lessons I have given upon
 “ the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself,
 “ and to bely in my last action all the principles
 “ and sentiments of my past life.

“ But without speaking of my fame, which I
 “ should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not
 “ think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be
 “ absolved by supplications: He ought to be per-
 “ suaded and convinced. The judge does not sit
 “ upon the bench to shew favour by violating the
 “ laws, but to do justice in conforming to them.
 “ He does not swear to discharge with impunity
 “ whom he pleases; but to do justice where it is
 “ due. We ought not therefore to accustom you to
 “ perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accus-
 “ tomed to it; for in so doing, both the one and
 “ the other of us equally injure justice and religion,
 “ and both are criminals.

“ Do

“ Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians,
 “ that I should have recourse amongst you to means
 “ which I believe neither honest nor lawful ; espe-
 “ cially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused
 “ of impiety by Melitus. For if I should influence
 “ you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to
 “ violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evi-
 “ dent, that I teach you not to believe in the gods ;
 “ and even in defending and justifying myself,
 “ should furnish my adversaries with arms against
 “ me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But
 “ I am very far from such bad thoughts. I am
 “ more convinced of the existence of God than my
 “ accusers, and so convinced, that I abandon my-
 “ self to God and you, that you may judge of me
 “ as you shall deem best for yourselves and me.”

Socrates * pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage expressed nothing of the accused : He seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. So noble and majestick a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for † judges, who look upon ~~upon~~ themselves as the absolute dispensers of life or death to such as are before them, to expect out of a secret tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submissions and respectful awe ; an homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus however had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, with-

* Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipso dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicium. *Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 231.*
 † Odit judex ferè litigantis securitatem ; camque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat. *Quint. l. 4. c. 1.*

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500 *livres*.

out reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas, if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages. This law had been wisely established to check the boldness and impudence of calumniators. Melitus had been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and presented themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and fourscore against Socrates, and in consequence only two hundred and twenty for him. He only wanted thirty * one to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty one, which would have been the majority.

By this first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any † penalty. For when the law did not determine the punishment, and when a crime against the state was not in question (in which manner I conceive Cicero's term, *fraus capitalis*, may be understood) the person found guilty had a right to chuse the penalty he thought he deserved. Upon his answer the judges deliberated a second time, and afterwards passed their final sentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of penalty, and change the condemnation of death, into banishment, imprisonment, or a fine. He replied generously, that he would chuse neither of those punishments, because that would be to acknowledge himself guilty. "Athenians," said he, "to keep you no longer in suspense, as you oblige me to sentence myself according to what I deserve, I condemn myself for

* The text varies in Plato; it says, thirty three, or thirty; whence it is probably defective.

† Præmissis sententiis statuebant tantum judices damnarent an absolverent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, si *fraus capitalis* non

esset, quasi poenæ æstimatione. Ex sententia, cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quasi æstimationem commiseruisse se maximè confiteretur. Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 231, 232.

— having

“ having passed my life in instructing yourselves
 “ and your children ; for having neglected in that
 “ view my domestick affairs, and all publick em-
 “ ployments, and dignities ; for having devoted
 “ myself entirely to the service of my country,
 “ in labouring incessantly to render my fellow ci-
 “ tizens virtuous : I condemn myself, I say, to be
 “ maintained in the Prytanæum at the expence of
 “ the republick for the rest of my days” * This
 last answer so much † offended the judges, that
 they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a pu-
 nishment very much in use amongst them.

This sentence did not shake the constancy of So-
 crates in the least. “ I am going,” said he, ad-
 dressing himself to his judges with a noble tran-
 quillity, “ to suffer death by your order, to which
 “ nature had condemned me from the first moment
 “ of my birth ; but my accusers will suffer no less
 “ from infamy and injustice by the decrees of truth.
 “ Did you expect from me, that to extricate my-
 “ self out of your hands, I should have employed,
 “ according to the custom, soothing and pathetick
 “ expressions, and the timorous and creeping beha-
 “ viour of a suppliant ? But in trials, as in war,
 “ an honest man ought not to use all sorts of means
 “ for the preservation of his life. It is equally dis-
 “ honourable both in the one and the other, to ran-

Plat. p. 39.

* It appears in Plato, that af-
 ter this discourse Socrates, without
 doubt to remove from him all im-
 putation of pride and contumacy,
 modestly offered to pay a fine pro-
 portionate to his indigence, that is
 to say, one mina, (fifty livres ;)
 and that at the instances of his
 friends, who had bound themselves
 for him, he rose in his offer to
 thirty minæ. Plat. in Apolog. So-
 crat. p. 38. But Xenophon posi-

tively asserts the contrary. p. 705.
 This difference may be reconciled
 perhaps, by supposing that Socrates
 refused at first to make any offer,
 and that he suffered himself at
 length to be overcome by the ear-
 nest sollicitations of his friends.

† Cujus responsio sic judices ex-
 arserunt, ut capitis hominem inno-
 centissimum condemnarent. Cic.
 l. 1. de orat. n. 233.

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“ from it only by prayers, and tears, and all those
“ other abject methods, you see every day practised
“ by people in my present condition,”

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and disciples, having advanced to him to express his grief for his dying innocent: *What*, replied he with a smile, *would you have had me die guilty?*

De anim.
tranquil.
P. 475.

Plutarch, to shew, that only our weakest part, the body, is in the power of men; but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their inflictions, cites these admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers.

Anitus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me. As if he had said in the language of the Pagans: Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treasure within me, of which no violence can deprive me, I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.

This great man*, fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples, that guilt is the only evil a wise man ought to fear, chose rather to be deprived of some years, which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe with his judges. Seeing that his own age had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself from it to the judgment of posterity, and by the generous sacrifice of a very advanced old age, acquired and assured to himself, the esteem and admiration of all succeeding times.

* Maluit vir sapientissimus quod superesset ex vita sibi perire, quam quod præterisset? et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parum intelligebatur, postero-

rum se judiciis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ senectutis ævum seculorum omnium consecutus. *Quint. l. 1. c. 1.*

S E C T. VII.

Socrates refuses to escape out of prison. He passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul. He drinks the poison. Punishment of his accusers. Honour's paid to his memory.

AFTER the sentence had been pronounced upon him, * Socrates with the same intrepid aspect, with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it; and became the residence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days, which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was; the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of his departure, till the same vessel should be upon its return. So that sentence having passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event, with which nature is very little familiarized. In this sad condition he did Plat. in Crito.

* Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipsi loco detractus. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat. *Senec. in Consol. ad Helvet. c. 13.*
Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honestiorem curia reddidit. *Id. de vit. beat. c. 27.*

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not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed, and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æsop's fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day, that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know, that bad news, and at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the goaler was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die.* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon his escape. Without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him; but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Can the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them: many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they

I

should

should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for. Ought he to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice, to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father to remember only the philosopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining, whether it were just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, tho' unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws. I do not know, whether, even amongst us, there are not many persons to be found who believe that this may be made a question.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the subject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. " I should certainly rejoice extremely, most dear Crito, that you could persuade me to quit this place, but cannot resolve to do so, without being first convinced. We ought not to be in pain upon what the people say, but for what the Sole Judge of all that is just or unjust shall pronounce upon us, and that alone is Truth. All the considerations you have alledged, as to money, reputation, family, prove nothing, unless you shew me, that what you propose is just and lawful. It is a received and constant principle with us, that all injustice is shameful and fatal to him that commits it, whatever men may say, or what-

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“ ever good or evil may be consequential of it. We
 “ have always reasoned from this principle even in
 “ our last days, and have never departed in the least
 “ from it. Would it be possible, dear Crito, that
 “ at our age our most serious discourses should re-
 “ semble those of infants, who say yes and no al-
 “ most in the same breath, and have nothing of fix-
 “ ed and determinate.” At each proposition he
 waited Crito’s answer and assent.

“ Let us therefore resume our principles, and en-
 “ deavour to make use of them at this time. It has
 “ always been a maxim with us, that it’s never al-
 “ lowable upon any pretence whatsoever to commit
 “ injustice, not even in regard to those who injure
 “ us, nor to return evil for evil, and that when we
 “ have once engaged our word, we are bound to
 “ keep it inviolably, no interest being capable to
 “ dispencc with it. Now if at the time I should be
 “ ready to make my escape, the laws and republick
 “ should present themselves in a body before me,
 “ what could I answer to the following questions,
 “ which they might put to me? What are you go-
 “ ing to do, Socrates? To fly from justice in this
 “ manner, is it aught else but ruining entirely the
 “ laws and the republick? Do you believe, that a
 “ state subsists, after justice is not only no longer in
 “ force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted, and
 “ trod under foot by particulars? But, say I, the
 “ republick has done me injustice, and has sentenced
 “ me wrongfully. Have you forgot, the laws would
 “ reply, that you are under an agreement with us
 “ to submit your private judgment to the republick?
 “ You were at liberty, if our government and con-
 “ stitutions did not suit you, to retire and settle your
 “ self elsewhere: But a residence of seventy years
 “ in our city sufficiently denotes, that our plan has
 “ not displeased you, and that you have complied
 “ with it from an entire knowledge and experience
 “ of it, and out of choice. In effect you owe all
 “ you

“ you are, and all you possess, to it : birth, nurture,
 “ education, and establishment ; for all these pro-
 “ ceed from the tuition and protection of the repub-
 “ lick. Do you believe yourself free to break thro’
 “ engagements with her, which you have confirmed
 “ by more than one oath ? Tho’ she should intend to
 “ destroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and
 “ injury for injury ? Have you a right to act in that
 “ manner with your father or mother ; and do you
 “ not know, that your country is more considerable,
 “ and more worthy of respect before god and man,
 “ than either father or mother, or all the relations
 “ in the world together ; that your country is to be
 “ honoured and revered, to be complied with in her
 “ excesses, and to be treated with tenderness and
 “ kindness even in her most violent proceedings ?
 “ In a word, that she is either to be reclaimed by
 “ wise counsels and respectful remonstrances, or to
 “ be obeyed in her commands, and suffered without
 “ murmuring in all she shall decree ? As for your
 “ children, Socrates, your friends will render them
 “ all the services in their power ; at least the divine
 “ providence will not be wanting to them. Resign
 “ yourself therefore to our reasons, and take the
 “ counsel of those, who have given you birth, nur-
 “ ture, and education. Set not so high a value up-
 “ on your children, your life, or any thing in the
 “ world besides justice ; so shall it come to pass,
 “ that when you appear before the tribunal of Pluto,
 “ you shall not want wherewithal to defend yourself
 “ in the presence of your judges. But if you demean
 “ yourself otherwise, we shall continue your enemies
 “ as long as you live, without ever affording you
 “ relaxation or repose ; and when you are dead,
 “ our sisters, the laws in the regions below, will be
 “ as little favourable to you ; knowing that you have
 “ been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to
 “ destroy us.”

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Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed to have a perfect sense of all he had said, and that the force of his reasons had made so strong and irresistible an impression upon his mind, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew from his friend,

Plat. in
Phæd. p.
59, &c.

At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The goaler desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner, that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose * chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints, *Oh my dear Socrates, your friends see you this day for the last time!* He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual gayety and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important and most suitable in the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die. This proposition taken too literally implied an opinion, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socra-

* At Athens, as soon as Sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

tes shews that nothing is more unjust than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed, and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

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Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, intituled *Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

Before he answers any of these objections, he de-Plat. p. 90.
plores a misfortune common enough amongst men, 91.
who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, dear Phædon, that having reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to be understood, there should however be those in the world, who are not at all affected with them, from their having heard those frivolous disputes, wherein all things appear sometimes true and sometimes false? These unjust and unreasonable men, instead of blaming themselves for these doubts, or charging the narrowness of their sense with them, from ascribing the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at length to a detestation of them; and believe themselves more knowing and judicious than all others, because they imagine they are the only persons, who comprehend, that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of things."

Socrates

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Socrates demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, it consists with wisdom to choose that, which is most advantageous, with least hazard. "If what I advance," says he "upon the immortality of the soul proves true, it is good to believe it; and if after my death it proves false, I shall always have the advantage from it, to have been less sensible here of the evils, which generally attend human Life." This * reasoning of Socrates (which, *we are to suppose*, can be only real and true in the mouth of a christian,) is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain all things, whilst I hazard very little; and if false, I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himself to the meer speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal; he draws useful and necessary conclusions from it for the conduct of life; in explaining what the hope of an happy eternity demands from man, that it be not frustrated, and that instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good. they should not experience the punishments allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, tho' very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved amongst the Pagans. The last judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls, that retain their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time from less considerable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

* Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

" My

“ My friends, there is still one thing, which it is ^{ANTAX.}
 “ very just to believe; if the soul be immortal, it ^{MENTION.}
 “ requires to be cultivated with attention, not only ^{Plat. p.}
 “ for what we call the time of life, but for that ^{107.}
 “ which is to follow, I mean eternity; and the least
 “ neglect in this point may be attended with endless
 “ consequences. If death were the final dissolution
 “ of being, the wicked would be great gainers in it;
 “ by being delivered at once from their bodies, their
 “ souls, and their vices: but as the soul is immortal,
 “ it has no other means of being freed from its evils;
 “ nor any safety for it but in becoming very good
 “ and very wise; for it carries nothing away with it,
 “ but its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices,
 “ which are commonly the consequence of the educa-
 “ tion it has received, and the causes of eternal hap-
 “ piness or misery.

“ When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendez- ^{Ibid. p.}
 “ vous of departed souls, whither their * ^{Dæmon} ^{113, 114.}
 “ conducts them, they are all judged. Those, who
 “ have passed their lives in a manner neither entirely
 “ criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent into a
 “ place, where they suffer pains proportioned to their
 “ faults, till being purged and cleansed of their guilt,
 “ and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive
 “ the reward of the good actions they have done in
 “ the body. Those who are judged to be incurable
 “ upon account of the greatness of their crimes, who
 “ from deliberate evil have committed sacrileges and
 “ murders, and other such great offences, the fatal
 “ destiny, that passes judgment upon them, hurls
 “ them into Tartarus, from whence they never de-
 “ part. But those who are found guilty of crimes,
 “ great indeed, but worthy of pardon; who have
 “ committed violences in the transports of rage a-
 “ gainst their father or mother, or have killed some

* *Dæmon* is a greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, angel.

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“ one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented,
“ these suffer the same punishment, and in the same
“ place with the last ; but for a time only, till by
“ their prayers and supplications, they have obtain-
“ ed pardon from those they have injured.)

“ But for those, who have passed thro’ life with
“ peculiar sanctity of manners, delivered from their
“ base earthly abodes as from a prison, they are re-
“ ceived on high in a pure region, which they in-
“ habit ; and as philosophy has sufficiently purified
“ them, they live * without their bodies thro’ all
“ eternity in a series of joys and delights, which it is
“ not easy to describe, and which the shortness of
“ my time will not permit me to explain more at
“ large.

“ What I have said will suffice, I conceive,
“ to prove, that we ought to endeavour strenuously
“ throughout our whole lives, to acquire virtue and
“ wisdom : for you see, how great a reward, and
“ how high an hope is proposed to us. And tho’ the
“ immortality of the soul were dubious, instead of
“ appearing a certainty as it does, every wise man
“ ought to assure himself, that it is well worth his
“ trouble to risk it in this manner. And indeed
“ can there be a more glorious hazard ? We ought
“ to enchant ourselves with this exalting hope ;
“ for which reason I have lengthned this discourse so
“ much.”

Cicero expresses these noble sentiments of Socrates with his usual delicacy. † Almost at the very moment when he held the deadly draught in his hand, he

* *The resurrection of the body was unknown to the pagans.*

† Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut, non ad mortem trudi, verùm in cœlum videretur ascendere. Ita enim

censebat, itaque differuit : duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, et se totos libidibus dedidissent, quibus coarctati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis

he talked in such a manner, as shewed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means bestowed upon him of ascending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us; the one leads to the place of eternal miseries such souls, as have sullied themselves here below in shameful pleasures and criminal actions; the other conducts those to the happy mansions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almost divine.

When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired Pag. 115
him to give him and the rest of his friends his last — 118.
instructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. “ I shall
“ recommend nothing to you this day, replied So-
“ crates, more than I have always done, which is to
“ take care of yourselves. You cannot do your-
“ selves a greater service, nor do me and my family
“ a greater pleasure.” Crito having asked him afterwards, in what manner he thought fit to be buried: “ as you please, said Socrates, if you can lay
“ hold of me, and I not escape out of your hands.” At the same time looking upon his friends with a smile: “ I can never persuade Crito, that Socrates
“ is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse; for he always imagines,
“ that I am what he is going to see dead in a little
“ while. He confounds me with my carcass, and
“ therefore asks me how I would be interred.” In finishing these words he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out

gitiis se inquinassent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum à concilio deorum: qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, se seque ab

his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1. n. 71, 72.*

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of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other well grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid him down upon his bed.

The servant of the Eleven entered at the same instant, and having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come, (which was at sun set) the servant was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. "See," said Socrates, the good heart of this man! Since my imprisonment he has often come to see me, and converse with me. He is more worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me." This is a remarkable example, and might teach those in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. Nothing else, replied the servant, than as soon as you have drank off the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed. He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a steady and assured look, "Well, said he, what say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one dose: "at least," continued he, we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty; and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy; which is what I most ardently beg of them." After having spoke these words he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and with a mildness not to be expressed or conceived.

Till

Till then his friends with great violence to themselves had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, tho' with his usual mildness and good nature. What are you doing? said he to them, I admire at you. Ah! where then is your virtue? Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into these weaknesses? For I have always heard say, that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and shew more constancy and resolution. Those words filled them with confusion, and obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, Crito, said he, which were his last words, *we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it*; soon after which he breathed his last. Crito went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates: in the first year of the XCV Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. Cicero * says, he could never read the description of his death in Plato without tears.

Plato and the rest of Socrates's disciples, apprehending the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to Mægara to the house of Euclid;

* Quid dicam de Socrate, cuius morte illacrymari soleo Plato- nem legens? *De Nat. decr. lib.* 3. n. 82.

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where they stayed till the storm blew over. Euripides however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a black calumination, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest of the greeks to perish,

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates in so distinct an image of him, melted into tears, and a decree passed to prohibit speaking any more of him in publick. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumstance.

However it were, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycæum, private houses, publick walks, and market-places seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place, he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services? Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the others banished. Plutarch observes, that all those, who had any share in this black calumny, were in such abomination amongst

amongst the citizens, that no one would give them ^{ΑΥΤΑΙ} fire, answer them any question, nor go into the ^{ΠΑΝΤΑ} same bath with them; and had the place marked where they had bathed, least they should be polluted by touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

The Athenians not contented with having punished his calumniators, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called *Σωκρατεῖον*, that is to say, *the chapel of Socrates*. Diog. p. 116.

S E C T. VIII.

Reflections upon the sentence passed upon Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself.

WE must be very much surprized, when on the one side we consider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, as to what regards the worship of the gods, which ran so high as to occasion their condemning the most eminent persons upon the simple suspicion of their failing in respect for them; and on the other, when we see the exceeding positiveness, to call it no worse, with which the same people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inspiring the highest contempt for them. All Aristophanes's pieces abound with pleasantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind, and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to spare the greatest men of the republick, it may be said also as justly, he was still less favourable to the gods.

Such were the daily entertainments of the theatre, which the people of Athens not only heard without

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pain, but with such joy, pleasure, and applause, that they rewarded the poet with publick honours, who diverted them so agreeably. What was there in Socrates, that came near this excessive license? Never did any person of the pagan world speak of the divinity, or of the adoration due to him in so pure, so noble, and so respectful a manner. He did not declare against the gods publicly received and honoured by a religion more antient than the city, he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity ascribed to them, and which were only proper to depreciate and decry them in the sense of the people. He did not blame the sacrifices, festivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion, he only taught, that all that pomp and outward shew could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightness of intention and purity of heart.

This wise, this illumined, this religious man however, with all his veneration and noble sentiments in regard to the divinity, is condemned as an impious person by the suffrages of almost an whole people, without his accuser's being able to instance one single avowed fact, or to produce any proof with the least appearance of probability.

From whence could so evident, so universal, and so determinate a contradiction arise amongst the Athenians? A people, abounding in other respects with wit, taste, and knowledge, must without doubt have had their reasons, at least in appearance, for a conduct so different, and sentiments so opposite, to their general character. May we not say, that the Athenians considered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the publick, solemn, and hereditary worship as they had received it from their ancestors; as it was established by the laws of the state, had been practised from immemorial time, and especially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and sacrifices. It is by this stand-

dard

ward they regulated their piety ; against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatsoever ; it was of this worship alone they were jealous ; it was for these antient ceremonies they were such ardent zealots ; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion, founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign customs ; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the representations of the theatre, and common conversation.

What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus ? No citizen would have been satisfied, that his wife or daughters should have resembled those goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived, he could not make a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might become the likeness of that divinity. It is better, says Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind ; open and declared impiety being less prophane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition. Plut. de Superstit. P. 170.

However it be, the sentence of which we have related the circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the splendor of its glorious actions for which it is otherwise so justly renowned, can never obliterate, and shews at the same time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconstant, wavering with every wind, and every impression. It is therefore with reason, that their assemblies have been compared to a tempestuous sea ; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

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As to Socrates, it must be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing so great and perfect. When we observe to what an height he carries the sublimity of his sentiments, not only in respect to moral virtue, temperance, sobriety, patience in adversity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveness of wrongs; but what is far more considerable, in regard to the divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the soul, its ultimate end and eternal destiny; the rewards of the good, and the punishment of the wicked; when we consider this train of sublime knowledge, we ask our reason whether it is a Pagan, who thinks and speaks in this manner, and can scarce persuade ourselves, that from so dark and obscure a fund as paganism, should shine forth such living and such glorious rays of light.

Memoire
de l'Academie des
inscript.
Tom. IV.
p. 372.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not answer those of his sentiments. This question has been discussed amongst the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The abbé Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him upon account of his conduct, may be seen upon this head. The negative argument he makes use of in his justification, seems a very strong one. He observes, that neither Aristophanes in his comedy of the Clouds, which is entirely against Socrates, nor his vile accusers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: and it is not probable, that such violent enemies as those would have neglected one of the most likely methods to discredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the use of it.

I confess however, that certain principles of Plato his disciple, held by him in common with his master,

ter, upon the nudity of the combatants in the publick games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex, and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty and bashfulness. Xenoph.

What shall we say of his visit to Theodota, a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to assure himself with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her, for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her snares. Do such lessons consist much with a philosopher? I pass over many other things in silence. Memorab. l. 3. p. 783 - 786.

I am the less surprized after this, that several of the fathers have censured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his disciple Plato, what St. Paul says of the philosophers; that God by a just judgment has abandoned them to a reprobate sense, and to the most shameful lusts for their punishment; in that having clearly known, there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by paying him a publick acknowledgment, and were not ashamed to associate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions. Rom. ch. i. v. 17-32.

And in this properly speaking consists the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occasion to be justly condemned by the eternal truth. It had illuminated his soul with the most pure and sublime lights, of which the pagan world was capable, for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himself alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables, upon which the ridiculous mysteries of his age were founded. He often spoke, and in the most exalted terms, of the existence of

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one only God, eternal, invifible, creator of the univerfe, fupreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues: But he * did not dare to give a publick testimony of thefe great truths. He perfectly difcerned the falfe, and the ridiculous of the pagan fyftem, and neverthelefs, as Seneca fays of the fage, and acted himfelf, he obferved exactly all the customs and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He acknowledged at bottom one only divinity, and adored with the people that multitude of infamous idols, which antient fuperftition had heaped up during a long fucceffion of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the fchools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philofopher, he defpifed and detefted the idols in fecret; as a citizen of Athens and a fenator, he paid them in publick the fame adoration with others; by fo much the more to be condemned, fays St. Auguftin, as that worship, which was only external and difsembled, feemed to the people to be the effect of fincerity and conviction.

And it cannot be faid that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expreffed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared, that he had always received and honoured the fame gods as the Athenians; and the laft order he gave before he expired, was to facrifice in his name a cock to Æfculapius. Behold then this prince of the philofophers, declared

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens fervabit tanquam legibus juffa, non tanquam diis grata—Omnem iftam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa fuperftitio congefſit, fic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad rem, pertinere—Sed ille, quem philofophia quaſi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illuſtris ſenator erat, cõlebat quod repre-

hendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnabilius, quo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, fic ægeret, ut eum populus veraciter agere exiſtimaret. *S. Auguſt. de civit. Dei.* l. 6. c. 10.

Eorum ſapientes, quos philoſophos vocant, ſcholas habebant diffidentes, et templa communia. *Id. lib. de ver. rel. c. 1.*

by the Delphick oracle the wisest of mankind, who, notwithstanding his internal conviction of one only divinity, dies in the bosom of idolatry, and with the profession of adoring all the gods of the pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcusable in this, that giving himself out as a man expressly appointed by heaven to bear witness to the truth, he fails in the most essential duty of the glorious commission he ascribes to himself. For if there be any truth in religion, for which we ought more particularly to declare, it is that, which regards the unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol-worship. In this his courage had been well placed, nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, who was besides determined to die. But, * says St. Augustin, these philosophers were not designed by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worship of false deities to the holy religion of the true God.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of them, let us draw a parallel between this supposed hero and the martyrs of christianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to shed the last drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the same truths, which Socrates knew, without daring to maintain in publick; I mean, the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us also compare the so much boasted death of this prince of philosophers, with that of our holy bishops, who have done the christian religion so much honour, by their sublimity of genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a Saint Cyprian, a Saint Augustin, and so many others who were all

* Non sic nati erant, ut populi suorum opinionem ad-
verum cultum veri Dei a simu-
lacrorum superstitione atque ab
hujus mundi vanitate converte-
rent. *S. August. l. de ver. rel. c. 2.*

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seen to die in the bosom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthiness and nothingness, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their salvation from his sole goodness and condescending mercy. Philosophy inspires no such sentiments ; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which, *we are taught to believe*, Socrates did not deserve to know,



Thomas [265] Adams
~~revised~~
~~# 57121~~
~~BOOK THE EIGHTH~~

The Antient

HISTORY
OF THE
Persians *and* Grecians.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the
GREEKS.

THE most essential part of history, and which it concerns the reader most to know, is that, which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to shew the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Signorius,

Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have wrote upon the Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of equal use to me in the matters it remains for me to treat,

CHAPTER I.

Of political government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: *Monarchy*, in which a single person commands; *Aristocracy*, in which the eldest and wisest govern; and *Democracy*, in which the supreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The most celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the first kind, as including the most advantages with the fewest inconveniences. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty of every one in authority, in whatsoever manner it be, is to use his utmost endeavours to render those under his command happy and just, by obtaining for them on the one side safety, and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, says Cicero*, is to steer his vessel happily into its port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; so a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the supreme rule of all just government is

* Tenes ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia? — Ut gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita

proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo. *Ad Attic. l. 8. Epist. 10.*

the

the good of the publick, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* Cic. de leg. l. 3. n. 8.
He adds, that the greatest and most noble function in the world is to be the author of the people's happiness.

Plato in an hundred places esteems as nothing the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people; and he refutes at large, in the first book of his republick, one Thrasymachus, who advanced, that subjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his subjects; and that whatever promoted the interests of the prince and commonwealth ought to be deemed just and lawful. Pag. 338
—343.

In the distinctions which have been made upon the several forms of government, it has been agreed, That would be the most perfect, which should unite in itself, by an happy mixture of plan, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniences, of the rest; and almost all the antients have believed, that the Lacedæmonian government came nearest to this idea of perfection. Polyb. l. 6.
P. 458, 459



ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta.

FROM the time that the Heraclides had re-entered Peloponnesus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the same two families, descended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have observed elsewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuse of despotick power on the side of the kings, or the desire of independence, and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise precautions of Lycurgus had not prevented fatal consequences by the reformation he made in the state. I have related it at large in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.

Vol. II.

S E C T. I.

ridged idea of the Spartan government. Entire submission to the laws in a manner the soul of it.

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the re-establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty eight senators, and the two kings presided in it. This august council, formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the king's, and that of the people; and whenever the one was for over-bearing the other, the senate interposed by joining the weakest, and thereby held the balance between both. At length, to prevent

vent this body itself from abusing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whose office lasted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the senators, but the kings themselves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, especially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and ~~at the same time~~ greater authority. However they had Arist. de rep. l. 2. p. 331. even then a kind of inspectors and commissioners assigned them, who served as a necessary council; and were generally chosen for that office, from their being out of favour with them, in order that there should be no connivance on their side, and the republick be the better served. There was almost continually some secret mis-understanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealousy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the tribunes of the Roman people. They presided in the election of the magistrates, and could call them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which they instanced in the case of Pausanias. When they sat upon their seats in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and seems to imply a kind of superiority in the Ephori from their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus, that when he was seated upon his throne to dispence justice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not usual for the kings
to

Plut. in Agesil. p. 597.

to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this circumstance of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All publick business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were not of force, unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws admitted. This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polibius make, shews the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of like laws to perpetuate their form of government.

Xenoph. in
Agesil. p.
651.
Polyb. l. 6.
p. 456.

Plat. l. 4.
deleg. p.
715.

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely, and with sovereign authority; whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private men, to despotick power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying, that the city is miserable, where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates.

Plat. l. 3.
deleg. p.
683 - 685

The examples of Argos and Messene, which I have already related, would alone suffice to shew how just and true that reflection is. After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, distinguished by the name of Dorians, established themselves in

three cities of Peloponnesus; Lacedæmon, Argos, ^{Plut. in} and Messene; and swore alliance, and protection of ^{Lycurg. p.} each other. These three cities, governed alike by ^{43.} Monarchical power, had the same advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were situated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. Argos and Messene however did not long preserve their superiority. The haughtiness of the kings, and the disobedience of the people, occasioned their fall from the flourishing condition, of their first settlement, and their example proved, says Plutarch after Plato, that it was the peculiar grace of the gods, which gave the Spartans such a man as Lycurgus, indued with a capacity to prescribe so wise and reasonable a plan of government.

To support it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that ~~they~~ might become a second nature in them, by being early engrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. The hard and sober manner, in which they were brought up, inspired them during the rest of their lives with a natural taste for frugality and temperance, that distinguished them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to support the fatigues of war. Plato observes, that this salutary custom had banished ^{Plato. de leg. l. 1. p. 637.} from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependence, drunkenness, debauchery and all their consequential disorders; insomuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the feasts of Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themselves up to the last excesses.

They also accustomed the children from their earliest infancy to an entire submission to the laws, magistrates, and all in authority; and * their education, properly speaking, was no more than an ap-

* Ὁστὶ τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μὴ λέγειν εἰς παιδείαν. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.
prenticeship

apprenticeship of obedience. It was for this reason Agefilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, as to an excellent school, * where they might learn the greatest and most noble of all sciences, *to obey and to command*, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were subjected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magistrates, and even kings; and they did not distinguish themselves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that such behaviour was the surest means to their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiours.

Hærod. l. 7, c. 145, 146. Hence came the so much celebrated answers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend, how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to controul them, should be capable to confront dangers and death.

Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

“ They are free and independant of all men,” replied Demaratus, “ but the law is above them and commands them; and that law ordains that they must conquer or die.” Upon another occasion, when some body expressed their surprize, that being King he should suffer himself to be banished: *it is: says he, because at Sparta the law is stronger than the kings.*

Id. in Agefil. p. 603, 604.

This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agefilaus to the orders of the Ephori when recalled by them to the support of his country; a delicate occasion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it seemed more † glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.

* *Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν.*
Plut. in Agef. p. 606.

† Multo gloriosius duxit, si

institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm si bello superasset Asiam. *Cornel. Nep. in Agefil. cap. 4.*

S E C T. II.

Love of poverty instituted at Sparta.

TO this entire submission to the Laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government, no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to decry riches absolutely; to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money to gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that were used to make so difficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment should be passed on it, as it effects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit all conquest, and to deprive it of all means to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flourishing. Such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any state, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lysander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and restoring to the publick the use of gold and silver coin, was it not a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner, but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilst Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was powerful and glorious, and the commencement of her

all the citizens are enured to labour, accustomed to live on a little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and suppose, that the fundamental principle of this small republick is to do no wrong to any one, not to disturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or interests, but on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppressed against the injustice and violence of oppressors; is it not certain, that such a republick, surrounded by a great number of states of equal extent, would be generally respected by all the neighbouring people, would become the supreme arbitrator of all their quarrels, and exercise an empire over them, by so much the more glorious and lasting, as it would be voluntary, and founded solely in the opinion those people would have of its virtue, justice, and valour?

Plut. p 58.

This was the end Lycurgus proposed to himself. Convinced that the happiness of a city, like that of a private person, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itself, he regulated Sparta so as it might always suffice to its own happiness, and act upon principles of wisdom and equity. From thence arose that universal esteem of the neighbouring people and even of strangers for the Lacedæmonians, who asked of them neither money, ships, nor troops; but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their request, they paid him entire obedience, with every kind of honour and respect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus; the Chalcidians Brasidas, and all the Greeks of Asia Lysander, Callicratidas and Agefilaus*; regarding the city of Sparta, as a model for all others in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declension of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pre-

* Πρὸς σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρ- διδάσκαλον ἐν γήμοις βίον ἢ τετρα-
τικτῶν πόλιν ὅσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ μένης πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες.

tend that they were exactly observed till that time ; which was far from the case ; but the spirit and genius of those laws had almost always prevailed with the majority of the persons who governed. No sooner had the ambition of reigning over all Greece inspired them with the design of having naval armies, and foreign troops, and that money was necessary for the support of those forces, than Sparta, forgetting her antient maxims, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the Barbarians, which till then she had detested, and basely to make her court to the kings of Persia, whom she had formerly vanquished with so much glory ; and that only to draw from them some aids of money and troops against their own brethren, that is to say, against people born and settled in Greece like themselves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recal with gold and silver into Sparta all the vices and crimes, which the iron money had banished ; and to prepare the way for the changes which ensued, and were the cause of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wisdom of Lycurgus, in having foreseen at such a distance, what might strike at the happiness of his citizens, and provided salutary remedies against it in the form of government he established at Sparta. Another legislator who had preceded him several ages in time has a right to share in this glory with him.



S E C T. III.

Laws established by Minos in Crete the model of those of Sparta.

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had formed the plan of most of his laws upon the model of those then observed in the island of Crete, where he passed a considerable time in the study of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having omitted to do it out of forgetfulness in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I spoke for the first time of Lycurgus and his institutions.

Minos, whom fable calls the son of Jupiter, was the author of these laws. He lived about an hundred years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wise, and temperate prince, and still more estimable for his moral virtues, than his military abilities. After having conquered the island of Crete, and several others in its neighbourhood, he applied himself to strengthen by wise laws the new state, of which he had possessed himself by the force of arms. The end, which he proposed in the establishment of these laws, was to render his subjects happy, by making them virtuous. He banished idleness and voluptuousness from his states, and with them, luxury and vicious delights, the fruitful sources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was justly regarded as the most precious and greatest good, and that it cannot subsist without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to establish a kind of equality amongst them; which is the tie and basis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealousy, hatred, and dissention. He did not undertake to make any new divisions of lands, nor to forbid the use of gold and silver. He bent his thoughts

A. M.
2720.
Ant. J. C.
1284.

Strab. l. 10.
P 480.

thoughts to unite his subjects by other ties, which seemed to him neither less firm nor less reasonable.

He decreed, that the children should be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the same principles and maxims. Their life was hard and sober. They were accustomed to be satisfied with little, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, to suffer courageously the blows they gave each other, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhick, in order, says Strabo, that even to their diversions, every thing might breathe, and form them for, ~~the~~ war. They were also made to learn certain airs of musick; but of a manly, martial kind.

They were not taught either to ride, or to wear Plat de leg l. i. p. 623. heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their most usual exercise. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding of horses, as is that of the Thessalians, who passed for the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of shelves and high lands, where heavy armed troops could not exercise themselves in the horse-race. But as to archery and light-armed soldiers, fit to execute the devices and stratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremost rank.

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the same diet, the accustoming his subjects to a frugal and sober life, the cementing friendship and unity between them by the usual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. It was the publick that sup-

Aristot. de rep. l. 2. c.

plied 10.

plied the expences of these tables. Out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the publick meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages were fed at the cost, and in the name, of the republick. In this, Aristotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before those of Sparta, wherein private persons were obliged to furnish their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the assemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

Athen. l. 4.
p. 643.

After eating, the old men discoursed upon the affairs of the state. The conversation turned generally upon the history of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had distinguished themselves either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose these great persons to themselves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

Plat de leg
l. 1. p. 626.

Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legislator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal attention, because he was convinced that the repose, liberty, and riches of his subjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the vanquished being deprived of all those advantages by the victor. But he ordained, that war should be only made for the sake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that sole object.

Id. l. 3.
p. 680.

Amongst the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth some tincture of learning. The works of Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongst them, tho' they set small value, and made little use of, foreign poets. They were very curious in such knowledge,

as is proper to form the manners ; and what is no small praise, they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and by some placed in the number of the Seven Sages.

One of Minos's institutions, which Plato admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth an high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institution ; but to consider them, not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprized the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He had the same attention in regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he enjoined to be honoured in a peculiar manner ; and in order that nothing might prevent the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth : A wise precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life !

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a most great and excellent man observes, the king can do every thing in the government of his people, and the laws every thing with regard to himself. He has an absolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred pledge, upon condition that he shall be their common father. The same laws require, that a single man by his wisdom and moderation shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects, and not that the subjects, by their misery and abject slavery, shall be substituted to gratify the pride and low passions of a single man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country

*Monsieur
de Fenelon
archbp. of
Cambray.*

country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wise, and happy. It is not for himself that the gods have made him king, and he is only so for the service of his people. He owes them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he forgets, and devotes himself to the publick good. Such is the idea Minos had of the sovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own person, and which Hesiod has perfectly expressed in ~~two~~ ^{three} words, by calling that prince, *the most royal of mortal kings*; βασιλεύτατον ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα; that is to say, that he possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

Plat. in
Min.
p. 320.

Arist. de
rep. l. 2.
c. 10.

It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The senate, composed of thirty senators, formed the publick council. It was there affairs were examined, and resolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their suffrages. The magistrates, to the number of ten, established for maintaining good order in the state, and therefore called *Cosmi*, held the two other bodies of the state in respect, and and were the balance between them. In time of war the same persons commanded the army. They were chosen by lot; but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their administration. Out of this company the senators were elected.

κόσμοι.
Ordo.

The Cretans made the slaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual sum. They were called *Pereocei*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separate from all others, the Cretans had not so much to fear from these vassals, as the Lacedæmonians from the helots,

helots, who often joined the neighbouring people against them. A custom antiently established in Athen. Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, L14-p.639 gives us reason to believe, that the vassals who manured the lands, were treated with great goodness and favour. In the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and did them the same offices as they received from them the rest of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and tending to signify to the masters, that their servants were of the same condition with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity. As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to associate co-operators with himself, for whose conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a share in the administration of justice, in the capital city; which is the most essential and indispensable function of sovereignty. He knew his probity, ability, and constancy, and had applied himself to forming him for so important an office. Another minister had the care of the rest of the cities, who made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws established by the prince were duly observed, and the inferior magistrates and officers religiously acquitted themselves of their duty.

Plat. in Min. p. 320.

Crete, under so wise a government, changed its aspect entirely, and seemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did these three brothers in making them the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of wit.

It was according to fabulous tradition, a law established from all times, that men in departing out of this life should be judged, in order to their receiving the reward

Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

reward or punishment due to their good or evil actions. Under the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the instant preceeding death, which left room for very flagrant injustices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendor of their power, and producing witnesses to depose in their favour; because, as they were still alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain shew, and deceived by such false evidence, declared these princes innocent, and dismissed them with permission to enter into the happy abodes of the just. The same may be said in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpless, calumny and malice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fable adds, that upon reiterated complaints and warm remonstrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of these trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both sons of Jove, were appointed judges; the first for the Asiatics, the other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide supremely in cases of doubt and obscurity. Their tribunal is situated in a place called *the field of truth*, because neither falsehood nor calumny can approach it. The greatest prince must appear there, as soon as he has resigned his last breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked self without defence or protection, silent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole earth tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes, which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with assurance of being released out of it, as soon as he shall be sufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, such as injustice, perjury, and the oppression of his people, he is cast into the same Tartarus,

tarus, there to suffer eternal miseries. The just on the contrary, of whatsoever condition they are, are conducted into the blest abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which shall have no end.

Who does not see that the poets, under the cover of these fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intend to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to render justice to his people; and to delineate the extraordinary happiness Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. The laws he established, subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to say, more than nine hundred years after. And they were considered as the effect of his long * conversations for many years with Jupiter, who had condescended to become his teacher, to enter into a † familiarity with him as with a good friend, and to form him in the great art of reigning with a secret complacency, as a favourite disciple, and a tenderly beloved son. It is in this manner Plato explains these words of Homer; *Διὸς μεγαλῆ ὁμιλίας*; the most exalted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribes only to Minos.

Plat. in

Min.

P. 321.

Id. p. 319.

Odyss. l. 7.

v. 179.

Notwithstanding so shining and solid a merit, the theatres of Athens resounded with nothing so much as imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives the reason for them: But first he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed. “When either the praise or dis-
“praise of great men is in question, it is infinitely
“proper,” says he, “to treat them with circum-

* Et Jovis arcanis Minos admittit. Horat.

† This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy scrip-

tures, which say of Moses: And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

“ spection and wisdom ; because upon that depends
 “ the idea men form to themselves of virtue and
 “ vice, and the distinction they ought to make be-
 “ tween the good and the bad. For, adds he,
 “ God conceives a just indignation, when he sees a
 “ person blamed who resembles himself ; and on the
 “ contrary another praised, who is the reverse of
 “ him. We must not believe that nothing is sacred
 “ but brass and marble ; (he speaks of the statues
 “ had in great veneration :) The just man is the
 “ most sacred, and the wicked the most detestable,
 “ of all beings in this world.”

After this reflection, Socrates observes, that the source and cause of the Athenians' hatred of Minos was the unjust and cruel tribute he imposed upon them, by obliging them to send him, every nine years, seven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur, and he could not but reproach that prince, with having drawn upon himself the abhorrence of a city like Athens, abounding with learned men, and of having sharpened the tongues of the poets against him, a dangerous and terrible race of men, from the poisoned shafts they never fail to let fly against their enemies.

Mem. de
l'Acad. des
Inscript.

Töm. III.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to Minos the imposition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch seem to be of the same opinion. Monsieur the Abbé Bannier alledges and proves, that they are mistaken, and confound the first Minos, of whom we speak, with a second his grandson, who reigned after him in Crete, and to avenge the death of his son Androgeus killed in Attica, declared war against the Athenians, and imposed that tribute, to which Theseus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile so inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodness, lenity, and equity of Minos, and with the magni-
cent

cent praises it bestows upon the polity and ordinances of Crete.

It is true the Cretans degenerated very much from their antient reputation, which at length they absolutely lost by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and self-interested to a degree of thinking nothing gainful, sordid, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves, inasmuch that to *Cretise* became a proverb amongst the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. We know

* St. Paul cites against them as truth the testimony of their antient poets, (it is believed from Epimenides) who paints them in very disgraceful colours; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the antient Cretans nor the glory of Minos their king.

The most certain proof of that legislator's wisdom, Plat. p 320 as Plato observes, is the solid and lasting happiness, which was the effect of the sole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it subsisted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the vicissitudes and revolutions, so common in all the other states of Greece.

* Κρητις ἀνὴρ ψεύς ἐστι, καὶ ἀνὴρ δόλιος, *ways liars, evil beasts, slow bel-*
lies. Titus i. 12.



ARTICLE II.

Of the government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither so constant nor so uniform as that of Sparta, but suffered various alterations according to the diversity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place however for some years to the tyrannick power of the Pisistratides, but was soon after re-established, and subsisted with splendor till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians. They were then subjected to the Thirty Tyrants, whose authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidst various events during a long series of years, till the Roman power had subdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I shall consider in this place only the popular government, and shall examine in particular five or six heads: The foundation of the government according to Solon's establishment; the different parts of which the republick consisted, the council or senate of the five hundred, the assemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the administration of justice, the revenues or finances of the republick. I shall be obliged to be more extensive upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have been upon that of Sparta; because the latter is almost sufficiently known, from what has been said of it in

Vol. II, the life of Lycurgus.

S E C T. I.

Foundation of the government of Athens according to Solon's plan.

SOLON was not the first who established the popular government at Athens. Theseus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the superintendence in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or husbandmen; and the artificers. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were considerable by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the publick, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artificers had the superiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to speak properly, did not become a popular state, till the establishment of the nine Archons, whose authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon by the wisdom of his laws, instituted and confirmed this form of government.

Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible a kind of equality amongst his citizens, which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty. He resolved therefore to leave the publick employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then, but to give the poor also some share in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reason he made an estimation of what each individual was worth. Those who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred measures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the first class, and called the *Pentaco-*

siomedimni, that is, those who had a revenue of five hundred measures. The second class was composed of such as had three hundred, and could maintain a horse for the war, these were called *horse-men* or *knights*. Those, who had only two hundred, were in the third class, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of these three classes only the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens, who were below these three classes, and had less revenues, were comprized under the name of *Theti*, hirelings, or workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their suffrages in the assemblies and decrees of the people, which at first seemed a very slight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the sequel.

I do not know whether Solon foresaw it, but he used to say, that the people were never more obedient and submissive, than when they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty: which comes very near Galba's expression, when to incline Piso to treat the Roman people with goodness and lenity, he desires him to remember, † that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty, or absolute subjection.

The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the publick offices and the magistracy; and Aristides, to prevent the disorders which an obstinate opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. It appears however from a passage in Xenophon, that the people contented themselves with the offices from whence some profit arose, and

* It is believed they were so called from their being ranked between the knights and the *Theti*; as in the galleys those who rowed in the middle were termed *Zugitæ*; their place was between the *Thalamitæ* and *Thranitæ*.

† Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem possunt; nec totam libertatem. left

Id. p 110.

Tacit. Hist.
l. 10. c. 16.

Plut. in
Aristid.
p. 332.

Xenoph.
de rep.
Athen.
p. 691.

left those, which related more particularly to the government of the state in the hands of the rich.

The citizens of the three first classes paid every year a certain sum of money, to be laid up in the publick treasury ; the first a * talent, the knights, half a talent, and the Zugitæ, † ten minæ.

Pollux. l. 1.
c. 10.
* One thousand French crowns.
† Five hundred livres.
Pollux.
ibid.

As the proportion of revenue regulated the order of the classes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

If Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to fix and direct the assemblies of the people. The first was the Areopagus : but it was much more antient than his institutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it a new lustre by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the Four Hundred, that is, an hundred, of each tribe ; for Cecrops, the first king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Clisthenes long after him changed that order, and established ten. It was in this council of the Four Hundred, all affairs were considered before they were proposed to the assembly of the people, as we shall soon explain.

In Solon.
p. 88.

I do not mention here another division of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pisistratus were a continual source of troubles and seditions. One of these three parties was formed out of those, who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government ; the other out of those, who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy ; and the third out of the people upon the coast, and these held the mean between both.

It is necessary, for the better understanding what we have now said, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

S E C T. II.

Of the inhabitants of Athens.

Athen.lib. 6. p. 272. **T**HERE were three sorts of inhabitants of Athens: citizens, strangers, and servants. In A. M. 3690. the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the Ant. J. C. CXVIth Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and * forty thousand servants. The number of citizens was almost the same in the time of Cecrops, and less under Pericles.

Of the Citizens.

Vol. III. A citizen could only be such by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother, both free and Athenians. We have seen that Pericles restored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some small time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers; and those, whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted in honour and gratitude to those, who had rendered great services to the state; as to Hippocrates; and even kings have sometimes canvassed that title for themselves and their children. Evagoras king of Cyprus thought it much to his honour.

When the young men attained the age of twenty; they were inrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath, and it was only in virtue of that publick and solemn act, that they became mem-

* The text says, μυριάδας τετρασχημία, four hundred thousand, which is a manifest error.

bers of the state. The form of this is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and Pollux have preserved in the following words. “ I will never dishonour ^{Pollux. l.} the profession of arms, nor save my life by ^{a8. c. 9.} shameful flight. I will fight to my last breath for the religion and civil interests of the state in concert with the other citizens, and alone if occasion be. I will not bring my country into a worse condition than I found it, but will use my utmost endeavours to make it more happy and flourishing. I will always submit myself to the laws and magistrates, and to all that shall be ordained by the common consent of the people. If any one shall presume to violate, or make void, the laws, I will not disguise or conceal such an attempt, but will oppose it either alone or in conjunction with my fellow citizens: and I will constantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. To all which I call to witness Agraules, Enyalus, Mars and Jupiter.” I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this august ceremony, well adapted to inspire the love of their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at first had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called *Δῆμοι, Pagi*. It was by these two titles the citizens were described in the publick acts. *Melitus, è tribu Cecropide, è Pago Pittbenfi*.

2. Of the Strangers.

I call those by that name, who being of a foreign country came to settle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the sake of commerce, or the exercising any trade. They were termed *μειτονοι, Inquilini*. They had no share in the government, gave no votes in the assembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themselves under

the protection of some citizen, as we find from a passage in * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were held to observe all the laws of the republick, and to conform entirely to all its customs. They paid a
Six livres. yearly tribute to the state of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed
Plut. in to sale. Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor phi-
Flamin. p. losopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune,
375. and was carried to prison; but Lycurgus the orator, having paid the tax, released him from the farmers of the publick revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little sensible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philosopher, meeting some time after the sons of his deliverer, told them; *I pay your father the favour he has done me with usury; for all the world praises him upon my account.*

3. Of the Servants.

There were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad state of their affairs to go into service, and their condition was easy, and not laborious. The service of the other was forced and unavoidable; these were slaves, who had either been taken prisoners in war, or bought of such as trafficked publickly in them. Part of their masters estate consisted in them, who disposed absolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. Demosthenes observes in one of his harangues, that the condition of servants was infinitely more gentle at Athens, than any where else. There was in that city an asylum or refuge for slaves, in the place

* *Thais patri se commenda. his dedit sese. Eunuch. Act. 50*
 vit, in clientelam & fidem No- *scen. ult.*

where the bones of Theseus had been interred, and that asylum was still in being in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theseus, that his tomb should do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himself during his life, and continue the protector of the oppressed as he had been.

When the slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action against their masters, who were obliged to sell them to others, if the fact were sufficiently proved. They could ransom themselves even against their masters consent, when they had laid up a sum considerable enough for that use. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock of it at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave these slaves their liberty; and the same grace was always granted them by the publick, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to put arms into their hands, and to list them for the war amongst the citizens.

The humane and equitable usage, with which the Athenians treated their servants and slaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the austere and cruel severity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their helots, which often brought their republick to the very brink of destruction. Plutarch with great reason condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's self always to mercy, even with regard to beasts, were it only, says he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and for the sake of acquiring humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occasion a very singular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finished the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they set all the beasts of burden at liberty, that had contributed towards the work, and assigned them fat pasturages as consecrated animals.

imals. And it was said, that one of these beasts having come to offer itself at the work, and put itself at the head of those that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremost as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature should be maintained at the publick expence till its death.

S E C T. III.

Of the Council or Senate of Five Hundred.

IN consequence of Solon's institutions, the people of Athens had a great share and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all causes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and establish new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their assemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wisdom and maturity, Solon had instituted a council composed of four hundred senators, an hundred out of each tribe, which were four in number, and who digested the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we shall soon explain more at large. Clisthenes, about an hundred years after Solon, having encreased the number of tribes to ten, augmented also that of the senators to five hundred; each tribe supplying fifty. This was called the council, or senate, of the Five Hundred. They received their stipend out of the publick treasury.

They were chosen by lot, in which they made use of black and white beans, which were mingled and shaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the names of those who aspired to that trust, and had the revenue assigned by the laws to qualify them for it. It was necessary to be at least thirty years of age, to be received. After enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, where-
by

by he engaged to give at all times the best counsel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the least from the tenor of the laws.

This senate assembled every day, except upon the days appointed for festivals. Each tribe in its turn furnished those who were to preside in it, called *Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This presidency continued thirty five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the presidency or prytaniasm, was divided into five weeks with regard to the five Tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preside in them, and every week seven of these ten Prytanes drawn by lot presided, each their day, and were denominated *Προεδροί*, that is to say, *Presidents*. He, * who was so for the * day, presided in the assembly of the senators and in that of the people. He was charged with the public seal, as also with the keys of the citadel and treasury. He was called *Επιστάτης*.

The senators, before they assembled, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation, of *goddes of good counsel*, to demand prudence, and the understanding which was necessary to wise deliberations. The president proposed the business, which was to be considered in the assembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always standing. After a question had been settled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. After that each gave his vote by scrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the question passed, otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called *ἑκφισμός*, or *Προβουλευμα*, as much as to say preparatory resolution. It was afterwards laid before the assembly, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law ; if not, its authority subsisted only one year. We may see in this, with what wisdom Solon established this council, to inform and direct the

the people, to fix their inconstancy, to prevent their temerity, and to assist their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confused and tumultuous assembly, composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the publick good. The reciprocal dependency, and natural intercourse of the two bodies of the state, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force, when without union and a good understanding, were besides a medium judiciously contrived to support a wise ballance between the two bodies; the people not being able to institute any thing without its being first proposed and approved by the senate, nor the senate to pass any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the same without any exception, as were laid before the people; war, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances, in a word all the affairs which relate to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and the frequent judgments they pronounced upon the most serious and important affairs.



S E C T. IV

Of the Areopagus.

THIS council took its name from the place <sup>Appo-
mon</sup> where it assembled, called *the quarter*, or *bill of Mars*, because according to some, Mars had been cited thither in judgment for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as antient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it, by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason he was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper that only those, who had passed thro' the office of archon, should be honoured with that dignity.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former apparently that they might not be under the same roof with the criminals, nor defile themselves with such a commerce with them; the latter to avoid being softened by the sight of the guilty, and that they might judge according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason, the orators were not permitted to use either exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, and were obliged to confine themselves solely within their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with an horror for that crime. They * condemned a

* Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cum damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicasse, quam id signum esse perniciosissimæ mentis, multisque malo futuræ si adolevisset. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 9.

child for making it his pastime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving that sanguinary inclination, as the sign of very wicked nature, which might one day become fatal to many, if he were suffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion; as blasphemies against the gods, contempt of sacred mysteries, different species of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were also brought before this tribunal. We read in Justin Martyr, that Plato, who in his voyage into Ægypt, had acquired great lights upon the unity of god, when he returned to Athens; took great care to dissemble and conceal his sentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagite; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine, and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

Cohort. ad
Græc.
Act. 17. v.
18--20.

Ad Attic.
1. 1. Ep.
13.

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise resolution of the Roman senate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. *Senatus, Ἀρειοπαγεῖς, nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.* Cicero must have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. * He compares the famous battles of Salamin, in which Themistocles had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, which he ascribes to Solon, and does not stick

* Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primum constituit Areopagitas: non minùs præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum juverit: ac ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus, qui à Solone erat constitutus. *Offic. 1. 1. n. 75.*

to prefer, or at least to equal, the legislator's service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality, says he, that victory was useful to the republick only for once, but the Areopagus, will be so throughout all ages; as it is by the wisdom of that tribunal, the laws and antient customs of the Athenian state are preserved. Themistocles did no service to the Areopagus, but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of Themistocles; because the republick at that time was actuated by the wise counsels of that august senate."

It appears from this passage of Cicero's, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt but it was consulted upon important affairs. Perhaps however Cicero here confounds the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the publick affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, because chance having always been against him, he had not passed thro' any of the employments necessary to his admission, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point: which is a great blot in his reputation.



S E C T. V.

Of the Magistrates.

OF these a great number were established for different employments. I shall speak only of the archons, who are the most known. I have observed elsewhere that they succeeded the kings, and that their authority at first continued during life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced at last only to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not abolish their office, but he very much diminished their power.

*From
 whence he
 was also
 called
 ἑκατοννοται.*

The first of these nine magistrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: *under such an archon such a battle was fought.* The second was called THE KING, which was the residue and trace of the authority to which they had succeeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at first commanded the armies, and always retained that name, tho' he had not the same authority, of which he had so long preserved some part. For we have seen in speaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The six other archons were called by the common name, THESMOTHETÆ, which implies that they had a particular superintendence over the laws, in order to their being duly observed. These nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it necessary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into those of many other employments and offices, established for the administration of justice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preservation of good order in the city, for supplying it with provisions,

sions, in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil society.

S E C T. VI.

Of the assemblies of the People.

THESE were of two sorts, the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for these there was no kind of summons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occasions that arose, and the people were informed of it by express proclamation.

The place for the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the publick market-place, sometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called *Πύλος*, and sometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The Prytanes generally assembled the people. Some days before the assembly papers were fixed up, wherein the business to be considered was recited.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their suffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being present at the assembly, or who came too late; and to induce their punctual attendance a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations, and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as should wilfully advise any thing contrary to the publick good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to consider. If it had been examined in the senate, and drawn up there as a question, it was read; after which those who would speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter

ter proposed. The oldest generally spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority : when the orators had done speaking and concluded, that it was necessary to approve or reject the decree of the senate ; the people then gave their voices, and the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation ; which was called *χεῖρα ὑψίσαι*. The assembly was sometimes adjourned to another day, because it was too late, and the number of those that lifted up their hands could not be distinguished, nor the plurality decided. After a resolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people in a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before ; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called *λίθισμα*, from the greek word *λίθος*, which signifies a pebble or small stone, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republick were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them new laws were proposed and old ones reformed ; the religion and worship of the gods examined ; magistrates, generals and officers created ; their behaviour and conduct enquired into ; peace or war concluded ; deputies and ambassadors appointed, treaties and alliances ratified ; freedom of the city granted ; rewards and honours decreed for those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republick ; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there upon the most important affairs. We see from this account, which is however very imperfect, how far the people's power extended ; and with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, tho' qualified with Aristocracy,

tracy, and the authority of the elders, was by its constitution democratical and popular.

I shall take occasion to observe in the sequel of what weight the talent of eloquence is in such a republick, and in what manner orators ought to be considered in it. It is not easy to conceive, how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a multitude of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two instances. The first relates to ostracism; and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions; it was necessary that no less than six thousand citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections, which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what it remains for me to say further upon the government of Athens.

SECT VII.

Of Trials.

THERE were different tribunals according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged; but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges, and that was what rendered their power so great and considerable. All the al-
Xenoph.
de Rep.
Athen. p.
664.
 lies, when they had any suit to make void, were obliged to repair to Athens; where they often remained a considerable time, without being able to obtain audience; from the multiplicity of affairs to be tried. This law had been imposed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more submissive to their authority; instead of which, had they sent commissioners to the places, they would have been the sole persons, to
 VOL. IV. X whom

whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their causes either in person, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water-clock, called in Greek *υδρομετρον*, regulated its duration. The decree was passed by plurality of voices, and when the suffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the side of mercy, and acquitted the accused. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence against a friend.

All the citizens even the poorest, and such as had no estates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be persons of good morals. Whilst they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of sceptre, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges salary was different at different times. They had at first only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a small matter in itself, but became in time a very great charge to the publick, and exhausted the treasury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Aristophanes's comedy of the wasps, wherein that poet ridicules the heat of the Athenians for trying causes, and their eager desire for the gain arising from thence which protracted and multiplied suits to infinitude.

In this comedy a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a state of the revenues paid into the publick treasury, finds their amount to be two thousand talents. He then examines how much of that sum falls to the share of the judges, with whom Athens was over-run,

at

Six millions of livres.

at three oboli a head *per* day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only an hundred and fifty talents. The calculation is easy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to six thousand men makes fifteen talents a month, and in consequence one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation the most assiduous judge gained only seventy five livres a year. What then becomes of the remainder of the two thousand talents, cries the young Athenian? What, replies his father who was one of the judges, it goes to — but let us not expose the shame of Athens; let us always be for the people? The young Athenian then explains that the remainder went to such as robbed the publick treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people, and to those who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of father Brumoi the Jesuit, with which I shall make very free, when I come to speak of publick shews and dramattick representations.



§ E C T. VIII.

Of the Amphictyons.

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a more natural occasion to speak of it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens and son of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite in the sacred band of amity the several people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and thereby equally attend to the happiness and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were also created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphos, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple; and also to adjudge the differences, which might arise between the Delphians and those who came to consult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylæ, and sometimes at Delphos itself. It assembled regularly twice a year, in the spring and autumn, and oftener when affairs required.

The number of people or cities, which had a right to sit in this assembly is not precisely known, and varied without doubt at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to pass what decrees in it they thought fit, were for excluding the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans; Themistocles, in the speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent the success of that attempt, seems to insinuate, that there

there were only one and thirty cities at that time, which had this right.

Each city sent two deputies, and in consequence had two votes in the council; and That without distinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior states in regard to the suffrages; the liberty upon which these people valued themselves, requiring that every thing should be equal amongst them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally between the Amphictyonick cities in all differences which might arise, and to fine the culpable in such manner as they thought fit. They could employ, not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raise troops, if it were necessary to compel such as rebelled to submit to them. The three sacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have spoke elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which *Æschines* has preserved the form; it runs to this effect: “ I swear *Æschin. in
orat. πρὸ
παραπρεσ-
βυας.* “ that I will never destroy any of the cities honour-
“ ed with the right of sitting in the Amphictyonick
“ council, nor turn their running waters out of their
“ course, either in times of war or peace: If any
“ people shall make such an attempt, I hereby en-
“ gage to carry the war into their country, to de-
“ molish their cities, towns, and villages, and to
“ treat them in all things as the most cruel enemies,
“ Moreover, if at any time, any person shall dare
“ to be so impious to steal and take away any of the
“ rich offerings, preserved in the temple of *Apol-*
“ lo at Delphos, or abett any others in committing
“ that crime, either by aiding or only counselling
“ him therein, that I will use my feet, hands, voice,
“ in a word, all my powers and faculties, to avenge
“ that sacrilege.” That oath was attended with
the most terrible imprecations and execrations. “ That

“ if any one should infringe any thing contained in
 “ it, whether as a private person, a city, or people,
 “ that person, city, or people should be held accu-
 “ sed ; and in that acceptation, experience the whole
 “ vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Mi-
 “ nerva the fore-knower. May their country pro-
 “ duce none of the fruits of the earth, and their
 “ women, instead of generating children resembling
 “ their fathers, bring forth nothing but monsters ;
 “ may their animals share in the same curse. May
 “ those sacrilegious men lose all suits at law ; may
 “ they be conquered in war, have their houses de-
 “ molished, and be themselves and their children put
 “ to the sword.” I am not astonished, that after
 such terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken
 by the order of the Amphictyons, should be carri-
 ed on with so much ardour and fury. The religion
 of an oath was of great force with the antients ; and
 how much more ought it to be regarded in the Chri-
 stian world, which professes to believe, that the vio-
 lation of it shall be punished with eternal torments ;
 and yet how many are there amongst us, who make a
 trifle of breaking through the most solemn oaths ?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always
 been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline
 exceedingly from the moment they condescended to ad-
 mit Philip of Macedon into their body. For this prince,
 enjoying by this means all their rights and privi-
 ledges, soon knew how to set himself above all law,
 and to abuse his power so far, as to preside by proxy
 both in this illustrious assembly, and in the Pythian
 games ; of which games the Amphictyons were
 judges and Agonothetæ in virtue of their office.
 This Demosthenes reproaches him with in his third
 philippick ; *When he does not deign, says he, to ho-
 nour us with his presence, he sends HIS SLAVES to
 preside over us.* An odious, but energical term, in
 the spirit of the Grecian liberty, by which the Athe-
 nian

nian orator images the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphietyons be required, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois may be consulted in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this matter is treated with great extent and erudition.

Vol. III.

S E C T. IX.

Of the revenues of Athens.

THE revenues according to the passage of Aristophanes, which I have cited before, and in consequence were as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents, that is to say, to six millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four species.

Τάλαν.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the publick. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandize, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

The history of Athens often mentions the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain, situate between the Piræum and cape Sunium and the mountains of Thrace, from whence many persons extracted immense riches. Xenophon in a treatise wherein he states this matter at large, demonstrates, how much the publick might gain by well working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched. Hipponicus let his mines and six hundred slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an * obolus a day for each slave, clear of all charges,

De ration. reddituum.

Pag. 925.

* Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minæ a talent.

which amounted in the whole to a mina, or fifty livres. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the common expences of the war. At first, under Aristides, they amounted to only four hundred and sixty talents. Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to six hundred, and sometime after, they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations made the allies, and the most solemn engagements to the contrary.

*A talent
was worth
a thousand
crowns.*

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in the pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines, laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanours, were applied to the uses of the publick, and laid up in the treasury; except the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legal application of these different revenues of the republick, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the publick buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greatest part of them, especially after Pericles's time, was mis-applied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expences; games, feasts, and shews, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

S E C T. X.

Of the education of the Youth.

I Place this article under the head of government, because all celebrated legislators have with reason believed, that the education of youth was an essential part of it.

The exercises, that served for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians, (and as much may be said of almost all the people of Greece) were dancing, musick, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It may be observed that I speak generally, and touch very slightly upon these various articles.

1. *Dancing. Musick.*

Dancing is one of the exercises of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the antients called *the Gymnastick*, divided, according to Plato, into two kinds, *the Orchestrick*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Palæstrick*, so called from a Greek word which signifies *wrestling*. The exercises of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uses of society.

Ὀρχήστρις
Saltare.

Παλῆς.

Dancing had another end, and taught such rules of motion, as were most proper to render the shape free and easy; to give the body a just proportion, and the whole person an unconstrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeness, if we may be allowed to use that expression, which never fails to prejudice people in favour of those, who have been formed to it early.

Musick was cultivated with no less application and success. The antients ascribed wonderful effects to it.

Polyb. p.
282—291

it. They believed it very proper to calm the passions, soften the manners, and even humanize people naturally savage and barbarous. Polybius, a grave and serious historian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to strangers, and piety to the gods; the other on the contrary generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I say, ascribes this difference to the study of musick, (I mean, says he, the true and noble musick) cultivated with care by the one, and absolutely neglected by the other, people.

After this it is not surprizing, that the Greeks considered musick as an essential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himself in a very advanced age was not ashamed to learn to play upon musical instruments. Themistocles however otherwise esteemed, † was thought to be wanting in point of merit, because at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre, like the rest of the company, || An ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity in it did honour to the greatest men. § Epaminondas was praised for dancing, and playing well upon the flute. We may observe in this place the different taste and genius of nations. The Romans thought quite differently from the Greeks in regard to musick and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely, the wisest and

* Socrates, jam senex institui lyra non erubescerebat. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

† Themistocles, cum in epulis recusasset lyram, habitus est indoctior. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 4.

|| Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus—discebantque id omnes; nec qui nesciebat,

fatis excultus doctrina putabatur. *Ibid.*

§ In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum est saltasse eum commode, scienterque tibiis cantasse — Scilicet non eadem omnibus honesta sunt atque turpia, sed omnia majorum institutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in præfat. vit. Epam.*

most

most knowing amongst the Greeks, did not apply to them with any great industry ; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shewn too much skill in musick at a feast, induces me to be of this opinion : *Are not you not ashamed, said he, to sing so well.*

For the rest this esteem for dancing and musick had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the most august feasts and ceremonies of religion to express their acknowledgment to the gods with more force and elevation for the favours they had vouchsafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greatest share in their feasts and entertainments, which seldom or ever began or ended, without some odes being sung in honour of the victors in the olympick games, and on other the like occasions. They had a part also in war ; and we know, that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound of flutes. Plato, the most grave philosopher of antiquity, considered both these arts, not as simple amusements, but as they had a great share in the ceremonies of religion, and military exercises. Hence we see him very intent in his books of laws, to prescribe rules upon dancing and musick, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum. De leg. l. 7.

They did not continue long within these restrictions. The licence of the Grecian stage, on which dancing was in the highest vogue, and as it were prostituted to buffoons and the most contemptible people, who made no other use of it, than to suggest or support the most vicious passions ; this licence, I say, soon corrupted an art, which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Musick had a like destiny ; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuousness and sensual pleasure were the sole

sole arbiters consulted in the uses made of both, and the theatre became a school of every kind of vice.

Sympof.

l. 9. qu. 15.

p. 748.

Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was so much fallen from the merit, which rendered it estimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to observe, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a soft effeminate musick, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of that antient poetry and musick, that had something noble, majestick, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made subservient to low taste and sensuality, by their aid, it exercised a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the publick schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was had to reason.

Quintil.

l. 1. c. 1.

The reader, without my observing upon it to him, will make the application of this passage of Plutarch to the sort of musick, with which our theatres at this day resound, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the last wound to the little virtue and vigour amongst us. Quintilian describes the musick of his times in these terms, *Quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. Of the other exercises of the body.

Lib. 8. de
leg. p. 832,
833.

The young Athenians, and in general, all the Greeks, were very intent upon forming themselves to all the exercises of the body, and to go through their lessons regularly with the masters of the Palæstræ. They called the places allotted for these exercises, Palæstræ or Gymnasia; which answers very near to our academies. Plato in his books of laws after having shewn of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds, that far from banishing from a well regulated republick the profession,

cession of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be proposed for all exercises, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue ; such as are those which render the body more active, and fitter for the race ; more hard, robust, and supple, more capable of supporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprizes. We must remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest galleys. The citizens themselves did this office, which was not referred to slaves and criminals as in these days. They were all destined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reason, Plato and all the antients looked upon the exercises of the body, as highly useful and even absolutely necessary to the good of the publick, and therefore this philosopher excludes only those from them, who were incapable of service in war.

There were also masters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence ; and others whose business it was to instruct them in all that was necessary to be known, in order to excel in the art military, and to become a good commander. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the antients called the Tactick, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That science was useful, but did not suffice. Xenophon shews its defect, in producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the business of a soldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.

Plat. in
Lachete.
p. 181.

Memorab.
l. 3. p. 761.
&c.

Hunting was also considered by the antients, as a fit exercise for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reason, Xenophon,
who

De venati-
one.

who was no less a great general than a great philosopher, did not think it below him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting, in which he descends to the lowest particular; and observes upon the considerable advantages consequential of it, from being enured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the course, the difficulty of the cliffs and thickets, through which it is often necessary to press, or the small success of the long and painful fatigues, which they often undergo to no purpose. He adds, that this innocent pleasure removes others equally shameful and criminal; and that a wise and moderate man would not however give himself up to it, so as to neglect the care of his domestick affairs. The same author in the Cyropædia frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real exercise of war, and shews in the example of his young hero the good use that may be made of it.

Cyrop. l. 1.
p. 5, 6.
& l. 2 p. 59,
60.

3. *Of the exercise of the mind.*

Athens, to speak properly, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts and sciences. The study of poesy, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematicks, were there in great vogue, and much cultivated by the youth.

Cic. in
Brut.
n. 172.
Quintil.
l. 8. c. 1.
Plut. in Pe-
ric. p. 156.

The young people were sent first to learn grammar under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. Hence proceeded the universal fine taste of Athens, where, as history informs us, a simple herb-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger from the use of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very
common

common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, many of them, that had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their yoke by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them ever after with kindness and humanity. The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect, and it is known, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school, in which there was not an Homer, gave the master a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, and one who dishonoured his profession.

Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 194

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of state, and gave an almost unlimited power to those, who had the talent of speaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, especially of those, who aspired to the highest employments. To the study of rhetoric, they annexed that of philosophy: I comprize under the latter, all the sciences, which are either parts of, or relate to, it. The persons, known to antiquity under the name of sophists, had acquired a great reputation at Athens; especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaritious, set themselves up for universal scholars. Their whole art lay in philosophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the false taste and wrong principles, they instilled into their disciples. I have observed in the life of Socrates, in what manner that philosopher undertook, and succeeded to discredit them.

CHAPTER II.

OF WAR.

SECT. I.

People of Greece in all times very warlike, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

NO people of antiquity, (I except the Romans,) could dispute with the Greeks the glory of arms and military virtue. During the Trojan war Greece signalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains she sent thither. This expedition was no more however, properly speaking, than the cradle of her new born glory; and the great exploits, by which she distinguished herself there, were only trials, and first rudiments in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time several small republicks, neighbours to one another by their situation, but extremely remote in their customs, laws, characters, and particularly in their interests. This difference of manners and interests was a continual source and occasion of divisions amongst them. Every city, dissatisfied with its own dominion, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay most commodious for it. Hence it was that all these states, either out of ambition, and to extend their conquests, or the necessity of a just defence, were always under arms, and by that continual exercise of war, formed in the universal people a martial spirit, and an intrepidity of valour which made them invincible in the field; as will appear in the sequel, when the whole united forces of the East come to fall upon Greece, and to make her sensible what she is, and of what she is capable.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: in consequence of which those cities, either successively or together had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves thro' a long course of time in a power, which the sole superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other people, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the most glorious proofs in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprizing actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them; but this was but a short-lived blaze, which, after having irradiated with exceeding splendor, soon disappeared, and left that city in its original obscurity. Sparta and Athens will be therefore the only objects of our reflections as to what relates to war, and we shall join them together, in order to be the better able to distinguish their characters, as well in what they resemble, as in what they differ from, each other.



S E C T. II.

Origin and cause of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always distinguished themselves.

ALL the laws of Sparta and institutions of Lycurgus seem to have no other object than war, and tended solely to making the subjects of that republick a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercise was prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, had no share in their applications, and did not seem in their eyes worthy of them. From their earliest infancy no other taste was instilled into them but for arms; and certain it is, that the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to this end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to shift with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to exercise continually hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be enured to blows and wounds, to stifle all complaints of pain and groans; these were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early youth, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is the nerve of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprizes.

Now one of these laws was to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans was an illustrious example of this, and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the utmost applauses, and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the nation a sense, and traced them out the plan, they were to follow. The dis-

grace

grace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as laid down their arms, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their sons, when they set out for the field, to return either with, or upon, their bucklers. They wept not for them who died with their arms in their hands, but for those who preserved themselves by flight. Can we be surprized [after this, that a small body of such soldiers with such principles should put an innumerable army of Barbarians to a stand ?

The Athenians were not bred up so roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no less valour. The taste of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment ; but they attained the same and tho' by different means. The Spartans knew only how to use their arms, and were no more than soldiers : but amongst the Athenians (and we must say as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, husbandry, commerce and navigation were held in honour, and thought no disgrace to any one. These occupations were no obstacles to the valour and knowledge necessary in war ; they disqualified none for rising to the greatest commands and the first dignities of the republick. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied the industry of his citizens to arts, trades and commerce, in order to supply his country, by their means with what it wanted on the side of fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and was perpetuated amongst the people, but without lessening in the least their ardour for war.

The antient glory of the nation, which had always distinguished itself by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their ancestors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had sustained alone the shock of the Barbarians, and gained a signal victory over

them, infinitely heightened their courage, and the battle of Salamin, in the success of which they had the greatest share, raised them to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greatest enterprises.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealousy of their glory, which during the war with the Persians contained itself within due bounds, were another strong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themselves, and sustain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to those who had distinguished themselves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country, the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midst of the most august religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conspired infinitely to eternize the valour of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indispensable necessity to them.

Plat. in
Solon. p.
96.
Id. in Me-
nex. p.
248, 249.
Diog. La-
ert. in So-
lon p. 37:

There was a law at Athens, by which it was ordained, that those, who had been maimed in the war, should be maintained at the expence of the publick. The same grace was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well as the children of such as had fallen in battle, and left their families poor and not in a condition to subsist themselves. The republick like a good mother, generously took them into her care, and supplied with regard to them all the duties, and procured all the relief, they could have expected from those whose loss they deplored.

This animated the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, tho' not very numerous. In the battle of Plataea, where the army of the Barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, consisted of no less than three hundred thousand, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and

and eight thousand two hundred men, there were in the latter only ten thousand Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to say, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thousand Athenians. It is true, that each Spartan brought with him seven helots, which made in all thirty five thousand men; but they were scarce ever reckoned as soldiers.

This shining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other states and people, did not suppress in their minds all sentiments of envy and jealousy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much superiour to them in number, were in pain to see themselves subjected to their orders, and murmured against it in secret. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, without seeming to have any knowledge of their disgust, assembled the whole army, and after having made all the allies sit down on one side, and the Lacedæmonians by themselves on the other, he caused proclamation to be made by an herald, that all smiths, masons, carpenters, and so on, thro' the other trades, should rise up. Almost all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Agesilaus then smiling, "You see, said he, how many more soldiers Sparta furnishes than all the rest of the allies together; thereby intimating, that to be a good soldier it was necessary to be only a soldier; that trades diverted the artisan from applying himself wholly to the profession of arms, and the science of war, and prevented his succeeding so well in it, as those who made it their sole business and exercise. But Agesilaus spoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed those, whom he would have to be considered only as simple artisans, had well demonstrated in the glorious victories they had achieved against the Persians, and even Sparta itself, that they were by no means inferiour to the Lacedæmonians

Y 3

monians, entirely soldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

S E C T. III.

Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were composed.

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The soldiers were sometimes marked in the hand, to distinguish them from the slaves, who had that character impressed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that it is in allusion to this double manner of marking, it is said in the Revelations, that all were obliged *to receive the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their forehead*; and that St. Paul says of himself, *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus*.

Rev. xiii.
16.
Gal. vi. 17.

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two sorts, either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans; or who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others to thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thousand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation, and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the republic expressed for three or four hundred, besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphaacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the troops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them into the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked, how many Spartans there was in the army; he answered; *as many as are necessary to repulse the enemy*. They served the state at their own expence, and it was

was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the publick.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republicks were composed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republick to the aid of which they were called in, were stiled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Plataea, every citizen had seven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms into the hands of so great a number of slaves, generally much discontented with their masters harsh treatment of them, and who in consequence had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus however, in the passage I have cited from him, represents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed soldiers.

The infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes and scimeters. The other were light-armed, that is to say, with bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a first line to shoot their arrows, and sling their javelins and stones at the enemy; and when they had discharged, they retired thro' the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued their volleys.

Thucydides, in describing the battle of Mantinea, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner, Lib. 5. p. 390. There were seven regiments of four companies each; without including the Squirites, to the number of six hundred; these were horsemen of whom I shall soon speak further. The company consisted, according to the same Greek interpreter, of an hundred and twenty eight men, and was subdivided into four platoons, each of thirty two men. So that a regi-

ment amounted to five hundred and twelve men; and the seven made together three thousand, five hundred, fourscore and four. Each platoon had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the usual depth of the files, which the officers might change according to occasion.

Id. l. 5. p.
390.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry, till after the war with Messene, where they perceived their want of it. They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciros*, from whence these troops were denominated *Scirites*, or *Squirites*. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their post by right.

Cavalry was still more rare amongst the Athenians: the situation of Attica, broke with abundance of mountains, was the cause of it. It did not amount after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than three hundred horse; but encreased afterwards to twelve hundred; a small body for so potent a republick.

I have already observed that amongst the antients as well Greeks as Romans, there is no mention made of the Stirrop, which is very surprizing. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback.

————— *Corpora saltu*
Subjiciunt in equos. —————

And with a leap sit steady on the horse.

Sometimes the steed, broke early to that kind of manage, would stoop down before, to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease;

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus.

Those,

Those, whom age or weakness rendered heavy, made use of a servant in mounting on horseback ; in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused fine stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body *.

I am surprized, that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not distinguish, that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army ; especially in battles ; and that some of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprized. He wrote two treatises upon this subject ; one of which regards the care, it is necessary to take of horses, and how to understand and break them ; to which he adds the exercise of the squadron ; both well worth the reading of all who profess arms. In the latter he states the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great use to all those, who are designed for the business of soldiers.

I have wondered, in running over this second treatise, to see with what care Xenophon, a soldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods and the necessity of imploring their aid upon all occasions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places, of a tract otherwise short enough ; and rightly judging that these religious insinuations might offend some people's disposition, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection, which I shall

* Ἀναβολίης μὴ δομένους. *This servant, who helped his master to word ἀναβολίης, signifies a man or mount on horseback.*

repeat entire in this place. “ If any one, says he,
 “ wonders that I insist so much here upon the neces-
 “ sity of not forming any enterprize without first
 “ endeavouring to render the divinity favourable and
 “ propitious, let him reflect, that there are in war
 “ a thousand unforeseen and obscure conjunctures,
 “ wherein the generals, vigilant to take advantages
 “ and lay ambuscades for each other, from the un-
 “ certainty of an enemy’s motions, can take no
 “ other counsel than that of the gods. Nothing is
 “ doubtful or obscure with them. They unfold
 “ the future to whomsoever they please on the in-
 “ spection of the entrails of beasts, by the singing of
 “ birds, by visions, or in dreams. Now we may
 “ presume that the gods are more inclined to illumi-
 “ nate the minds of those, who consult them not
 “ only in urgent necessities, but who at all times
 “ and when no dangers threaten them, render them
 “ all the homage and adoration of which they are
 “ capable.”

It became this great man to give the most impor-
 tant of instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he
 addresses the treatise we mention, and who accord-
 ing to the common opinion was appointed to disci-
 pline the Athenian cavalry.



S E C T. IV.

Of Maritime affairs, fleets and naval forces.

IF the Athenians were inferiour to the Lacedæmonians, in respect to cavalry, they carried it infinitely against them, in naval affairs, and we have seen their abilities that way make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority to all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in this history, I shall treat it more extensively than other matters, and shall make great use of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has wrote in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ship were the prow or head, the poop or stern, and the middle, called in latin *carina*, the hulk or waste.

THE **P**ROW was the part in the front of the waste or belly of the ship: it was generally adorned with paintings and different sculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *rostrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, covered at the point with brass and sometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it *ῥοστρον*.

The other end of the ship opposite to the prow was called **T**HE **P**OOPE. There the pilot sat and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the rest.

THE **W**ASTE was the hollow of the vessel, or the hold.

The ships were of two kinds. The one were rowed with oars, which were ships of war, the other carried sails, and were vessels of burden, intended for commerce and transports. Both of them sometimes made use of oars and sails together; but that very rarely. The ships of war are also very often
called

called long ships by authors, and by that name distinguished from vessels of burden.

The long ships were further divided into two species: those which were called, *actuaria naves*, and were very light vessels like our brigantines, and those called only long ships. The first were usually termed *open ships*, because they had no decks. Of these light vessels there were some larger than ordinary, and had some twenty, some thirty, and others forty oars, half on one side and half on the other, all on the same line.

The long ships, which were used in war, were of two sorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each side; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater number to forty; but these last were rather for shew than use.

The long ships of one rank of oars were called *Apbraſtes*; that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks: this distinguished them from the *Catapbraſtes*, which had decks. They had only small places to stand on at the head and stern in the time of action.

The ships most commonly used in the battles of the antients, were those which carried from three to five ranges of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great question, and has given occasion for abundance of learned dissertations, how these ranges of oars were disposed. Some will have it that they were placed at length like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the ranges of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and so on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one above another. To support this last opinion innumerable passages are cited from antient authors, which seem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are considerably corroborated by the column of Trajan, which represents these ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon however avers, that all the persons
of

of greatest skill in naval affairs whom he had consulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner seemed to them utterly impossible. But such a way of reasoning is a weak proof against the experience of so many ages confirmed by so many authors. It is true that in admitting these ranks of oars to be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not easy to comprehend how they could be worked : but in the biremes and triremes of the column of Trajan the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and as it were rising by degrees.

In antient times the ships with several ranks of oars were not known, they made use of long ships, in which the rowers, of whatever number they were, worked all upon the same line. Such was the fleet, Thucyd. l. 1. p. 8. which the Greeks sent against Troy. It was composed of twelve hundred sail, of which the galleys of Bæotia had each an hundred and twenty men, and those of Philoctetes fifty ; and this no doubt intends the greatest and smallest vessels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats ; which is still practised, says Thucydides, by the pirates, to prevent their being so soon descried at a distance.

The Corinthians are said to have been the first, Id. p. 10. who changed the form of ships, and instead of simple galleys, made vessels with three ranks, to add by the multiplicity of oars to the swiftness and impetuosity of their motion. Their city advantageously situated between two seas, lay well for commerce, and served as a staple for merchandize. From their example the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily equipped also many galleys of three ranks a little before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time, the Athenians, at the warm instances of Themistocles, who foresaw the war which soon after broke out, built such ships, the whole deck not being yet in use ; and from
thence

thenceforth they applied themselves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and success.

The beak of the prow (*rostrum*) was that part of the vessel of which most use was made in sea-fights. Diod. l. 13. Ariston of Corinth perswaded the Syracusans, whose city was besieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and shorter, which advice gained them the victory. For the Athenians prows being very high and very weak; their beaks struck only the parts above water, and for that reason did very little damage to the enemy's ships, whereas the Syracusans, whose prows were strong and low, and their beaks level with the water, sunk often at a single stroke the triremes of the Athenians. P. 142.

Two sorts of people served on board these galleys. The one were employed in steering and working the ship, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The other were soldiers intended for the fight, and are meant in greek by the word *ισχυράται*. This distinction was not understood in the earlier times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary services of the ship; which was also not wholly disused in later days. For Thucydides in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the small island of Sphaacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench remained in the ships, and that the rest went on shore with their arms. Thucyd. lib. 4. P. 275.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already said, that the rowers as well as mariners were all citizens and freemen, and not slaves or strangers as in these days. The rowers were distinguished from their several stages. The lower rank were called *Tbalamites*, the middle *Zugites*, and the highest *Thranites*. Thucydides remarks that the latter had greater pay than the rest, because they worked with longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. * It seems that the

crew

* *Muscam natura ipsa videtur luti muneri nobis dedisse. Si ad tolerandos facilius labores ve-* *quidem et remiges cantus hortatur;*

crew in order to act in concert, and with better effect were sometimes guided by the singing of a man, and sometimes by the sound of an instrument; and this grateful harmony served not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminish and sooth the pains of their labour.

It is a question amongst the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of these days. What Thucydides observes on the pay of the Thranites, seems to imply that they worked single. For if others had shared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than those who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much and perhaps more of the labour than them? Father Montfaucon believes, that in the vessels of five ranks there might be several men to one oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, *gubernator*, his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and steered the vessel. His skill consisted in knowing the coasts, ports, rocks, shoals, and especially the winds and stars; for before the invention of the compass, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the stars.

2. The soldiers, who fought in the ships, were armed almost in the same manner with those of the land-armies. The Athenians at the battle of Salamis had an hundred and fourscore vessels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers and the rest heavy-armed troops. The officers who commanded these soldiers was called *τρίπαρξ*, and the commander of the whole fleet, *ναύαρχος* or *στράτηγος*.

tur; nec solum in iis operibus, in quibus plurium conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conspirat, sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

We cannot exactly say the number of soldiers, mariners and rowers that served on board each ship; but it generally amounted to two hundred more or less, as appears from Herodotus's estimate of the Persian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeks. I mean here the great vessels, the triremes, which were the species most in use.

The pay of those who served in these ships varied very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Asia, it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma or five pence; and the * treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reason to believe, that the usual pay was three oboli. Cyrus at Lyfander's request added a fourth, which made sixpence half-penny a day. It was often raised to a whole drachma, which is about ten pence French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents, (180000 livres) which the people of Egæta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships, shews that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to say, to three thousand livres, which supposes, that each ship's company consisted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten pence a day. As the officers pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by abating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as has been said of the seamen, except that the horse had

Xenoph.
Hist.

L 1. p. 441.

Thucyd.

L 6. p. 431.

Ibid. p.

415.

Xenoph.

exped.

cyr. l. 7.

* This treaty stipulated, that the Persians should pay thirty mina a month for each ship, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that served on board.

double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions. Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a darick a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had discouraged, instead of one darick, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten pence French a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only species current amongst them, would go no where else, could maintain armies by sea and land, and where they found money for their subsistence. It is not to be doubted, but they raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and still more from the cities, to which they gave liberty and protected; or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleets and armies was the aids they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.



S E C T. V.

Peculiar character of the Athenians.

PLUTARCH furnishes us with almost all the matter upon this head. It is known how well he succeeds in copying after nature in his portraits, and how proper a person he was to trace the character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

Plut. in
præcept.
reip. ger.
p. 793.

“ I. * The people of Athens, says Plutarch, were easily provoked to wrath, and were as easily induced to resume their sentiments of benevolence and compassion.” History supplies us with an infinitude of examples of this kind. The sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day : The condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

“ II. † They were better pleased to catch hold of an affair and almost divine it of themselves, than to give themselves leisure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent.”

Nothing is more surprizing than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, and seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very gross in their conceptions, but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. || He was cheapening something of an old woman at

Athens

* Ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων ἐμπνητές ἐστι πρὸ ἔργῳ ἐν μεταθέσει πρὸ ἔλεον.

† Μᾶλλον ὀρέας ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκειν καὶ ἡσυχίαν βελόμην.

|| Cum Theophrastus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset illa, atque addidisset : Hospes,

non

Athens that sold herbs : *No Mr. stranger*, said she, *you shall have it for no less*. He was strangely surprized to see himself treated as a stranger, who had passed almost his whole life at Athens, and who piqued himself upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was however from that she knew he was not of her country. We have said, that the Athenian soldiers knew the fine passages of Euripides by heart. These artificers and soldiers, from assisting at the publick deliberations, were besides versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demosthenes, whose stile we know is ardent, brief, and concise.

“ III. * As by inclination they were prompt to relieve persons of a low condition and of an inconsiderable degree, so were they fond of conversations full of pleasantry, and proper to make people laugh.”

They assisted persons of a mean condition, because from such they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and saw in them the character of equality and resemblance with themselves. They loved pleasantry, and shewed in that they were men ; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who understood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of the respect to be paid them. One day when the assembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and sat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at last with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and desired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. “ For to day,” said he, “ I have business. I have

Xenoph.
de Athen.
rep. p. 691.

non pote minoris ; tulit molestè,
se non effugere hospitis speciem,
cum ætatem ageret Athenis, op-
timèque loqueretur. *Cic. de clar.
orat. n. 172.*

* Ὅσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
ἢ ταπεινοῖς βοῶντι προθυμότερον,
ἢ τῶν λόγων τὰς παιγνιώδεις ἢ γε-
λοῖας ἀσπαζέσθαι πρόθυμους.

“ been sacrificing to the gods, and am to entertain
 “ some strangers my friends at supper.” The Atheni-
 ans, setting up a laugh, rose and broke up the as-
 sembly. At Carthage, such a pleasantry would
 have cost any man his life, that had presumed to
 vent it, and to take such a liberty with a * proud,
 haughty, jealous, morose, people, of a genius averse
 to complacency, and less inclined to humour. Up-
 on another occasion the orator Stratocles, having de-
 clared a victory to the people, and in consequence
 occasioned sacrifices to be offered, three days after
 news came of the defeat of the army. As the peo-
 ple expressed their discontent and resentment upon the
 false information, he asked them, “ of what they
 “ had to complain, and what harm he had done
 “ them in making them pass three days more agree-
 “ ably than they would else have done?”

“ IV. † They were pleased with hearing them-
 “ selves praised, and could not bear to be railed at,
 “ or criticised.” The least acquaintance with Aris-
 tophanes and Demosthenes will shew, with what suc-
 cess and address they employed praises and criticism
 with regard to the people of Athens.

Plut in
 Phocion.
 P. 746.

When the republick enjoyed peace and tranquillity, says the same Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themselves with the orators who flattered them: But in important affairs and emergencies of the state, they became serious, and gave the preference to those, whose custom it had been to oppose their unjust desires, such as Pericles, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

“ V. ¶ They kept those who governed them in
 “ awe, and shewed their humanity even to their
 “ enemies.”

* Πικρόν, σκυδράπτον, πρὸς παι-
 διαν καὶ χάριν ἀντιθέσθαι καὶ σκληρόν.

† Τοῖς μὲν ἱπαινέσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα
 χάρις, τοῖς δὲ σκώπῃσι ἤκιστα δυσ-

χεραίνεσι.

¶ Φοβερός ἐστιν ἀχρεῖαν ἀρχόντιαν,
 εἴτα φιλανθρώπου ἀχρεῶν παλε-
 μίαν.

The people of Athens made good use of the talents of those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence and prudence, but they were full of suspicion, and kept themselves always on their guard against their superiority of genius and ability; they took pleasure in humbling their spirit, and lessening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the ostracism, which was instituted only as a curb on those, whose merit and popularity ran too high, and which spared neither the greatest nor the most worthy persons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehensive for their liberty, with regard to those who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an insolent use of victory, nor exercise any cruelty towards the vanquished. The amnesty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, denotes that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To these different characteristics, which Plutarch joins together in the same passage of his works, some others may be added, extracted principally from the same author.

VI. It was from this † fund of humanity and good nature, of which I have now spoke, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were so attentive to the rules of politeness, and so delicate in point of just behaviour; qualities one would not expect to find amongst the common people. In the ^{Plut. in} war Philip waged against them, having intercepted ^{Demetr.} one of his couriers, they read all the letters he was ^{P. 898.} charged with, except that Olympias his wife wrote to him, which they returned sealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and secrecy, the rights of which are sacred, and ought to be respect-

* Πάτριον αἰεὶς καὶ σύμφυτον ἦν τὸ φιλαίδορον. In Pelop. p. 280.

ed even amongst enemies. The same Athenians having decreed, that a strict search should be made after the presents distributed by Harpalus amongst the orators, would not suffer the house of Callicles, who was newly married, to be visited, out of respect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common, and upon like occasions people do not stand much upon respect and good breeding.

VII. The taste of the Athenians for all arts and sciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. Besides which, I shall have occasion to speak of it with some extent elsewhere. But we cannot see without admiration a people composed for the most part, as I have said before, of artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taste in every kind to so high a degree of perfection, which seems the peculiar privilege of a more exalted condition and a noble education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful, that this people * should have such great views, and rose so high in their pretensions. In the war Alcibiades made them undertake, full with vast projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse or the conquest of Sicily, but had already included Italy, Peloponnesus, Lybia, the Carthaginian states, and the empire of the sea to the pillars of Hercules. Their enterprize failed, but they had formed it, and the taking of Syracuse, which seemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The same people so great, and one may say, so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dress, furniture, private buildings, and in a word, private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, and poor; but sumptuous and mag-

* Μέγα φρονεῖ μεγάλην ἀρέχλειαν. Plut.

nificent in all things publick, and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Asia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion amongst them. Xenophon observes that a citizen could not be distinguished from a slave by his dress. The richest inhabitants, and the most famous generals were not ashamed to go to market themselves. De rep. Athen. p. 693.

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed so many persons excelling in the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poesy, painting, sculpture, and architecture: of having furnished alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome, * which had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage; of having been in some sort the school, and instructor of almost the whole universe; of having served, and still continuing to serve, as the model for nations, which pique themselves most upon the excellency of state; in a word of having taught the language, and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The section, wherein I shall treat the sciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illustrious, with the arts also and those who excelled in them, will set this in a clear light,

X. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprizes; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. That was their darling passion and great principle of policy. We see them from

* Græcia capta ferum, victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio. Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.

Greece taken, took her cruel victor's hearts,
And polish'd rustick Latium with her arts.

the commencement of the war with the Persians sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandon without the least regret their lands, estates, city, and houses, and remove to their ships in order to fight the common enemy, who intended to enslave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her by the king of Persia, to answer his ambassadors by the mouth of Aristides, that all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own, or the liberty of Greece! It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world from the invasion of the Persians.

Plut. in
Aristid.
P. 324.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconstant, capricious, people, as were the Athenians.

S E C T. VI.

Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

I Cannot refuse giving a place here to what Mr. Bosuet says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so, and includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both those people.

Amongst all the republicks of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licence; and controuled by severe laws at Lacedæmon, the more restrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itself in rule abroad.

abroad. Athens was also for reigning, but upon another principle, in which interest had a share with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the sovereignty at sea had enriched her. To continue in the sole possession of all commerce, there was nothing she would not have subjected to her power, and her riches, which inspired this passion, supplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republick, the glory of arms was the sole object to captivate her citizens. From thence she naturally affected dominion; and the more she was above interest, the more she abandoned herself to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was steady and determinate in her maxims and measures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much masters. Their laws and philosophy had indeed the most happy effects upon such exquisite natural parts as theirs were, but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. A wise Athenian, who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Persians. Plat. l. 3.
de leg.

Two things then ruined them, the glory of their great actions, and the security in which they believed themselves to be. The magistrates were no longer heard, and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery, so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

Those two great republicks, so contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed, of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their interests, than the incompatibility of their humours.

The

The Grecian cities were against submitting to the dominion of either the one or the other ; for, besides the desire of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those two republicks too grievous to them. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their simplicity. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere and imperious in power : besides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining the command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.

Aristot.
Polit. l. 1.
P. 4.

Xenoph.
de rep.
Lacon.

Plat. de
rep l. 8.

The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, where feasts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the various passions of men, daily exhibited new objects : But the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to say according to Plato, something more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince ruined by flattery.

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned, or fomented, by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies, which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its falling into the dependance of either the one or the other of those republicks.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole mystery of their politicks consisted in keeping up these jealousies, and fomenting these divisions. Lacedæmon, which

was

was the most ambitious, was the first that gave occasion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them all together. The states of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already been of the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the antient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery, and the hands of the Barbarians.

Plat. l. 3.
de leg.
Isocrat.
Panegyri.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. With a small army, but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and shewed it was not impossible to subvert their power. The divisions of Greece alone put a stop to his conquests. The famous retreat of the Ten Thousand, who after the death of young Cyrus, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I say, demonstrated to Greece more than ever, that their soldiery was invincible, and superior to all opposers; and that only their domestick divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their united force.

We shall see in the series of this history, by what manner Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, came at length, between address and force, to make himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his standards against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection, and shewed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail against

gainst the most numerous armies and the most formidable preparations.

After these reflections upon the government and principal people of Greece, as well in war as peace, and upon their different characters, it remains for me to speak of their religion, with which head the next volume will begin.

End of the Fourth Volume.

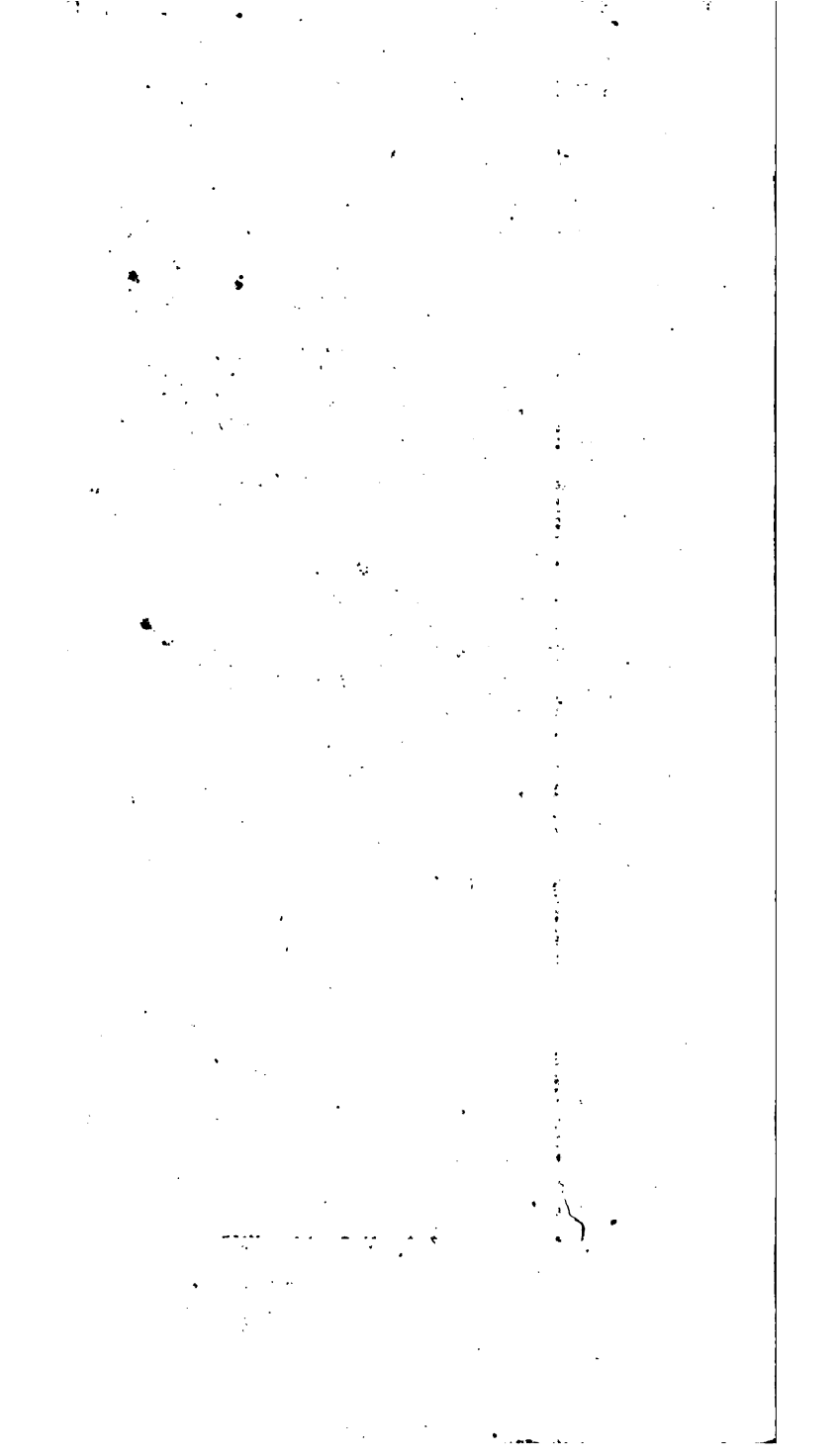


B O O K S

Pl. 3

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Pl. 3. Scenes of the Peloponnesian war, under
Pericles II, Sogdianus, and Darius Nothus.
and Media. Expeditions of Brasidas into
Thrace.



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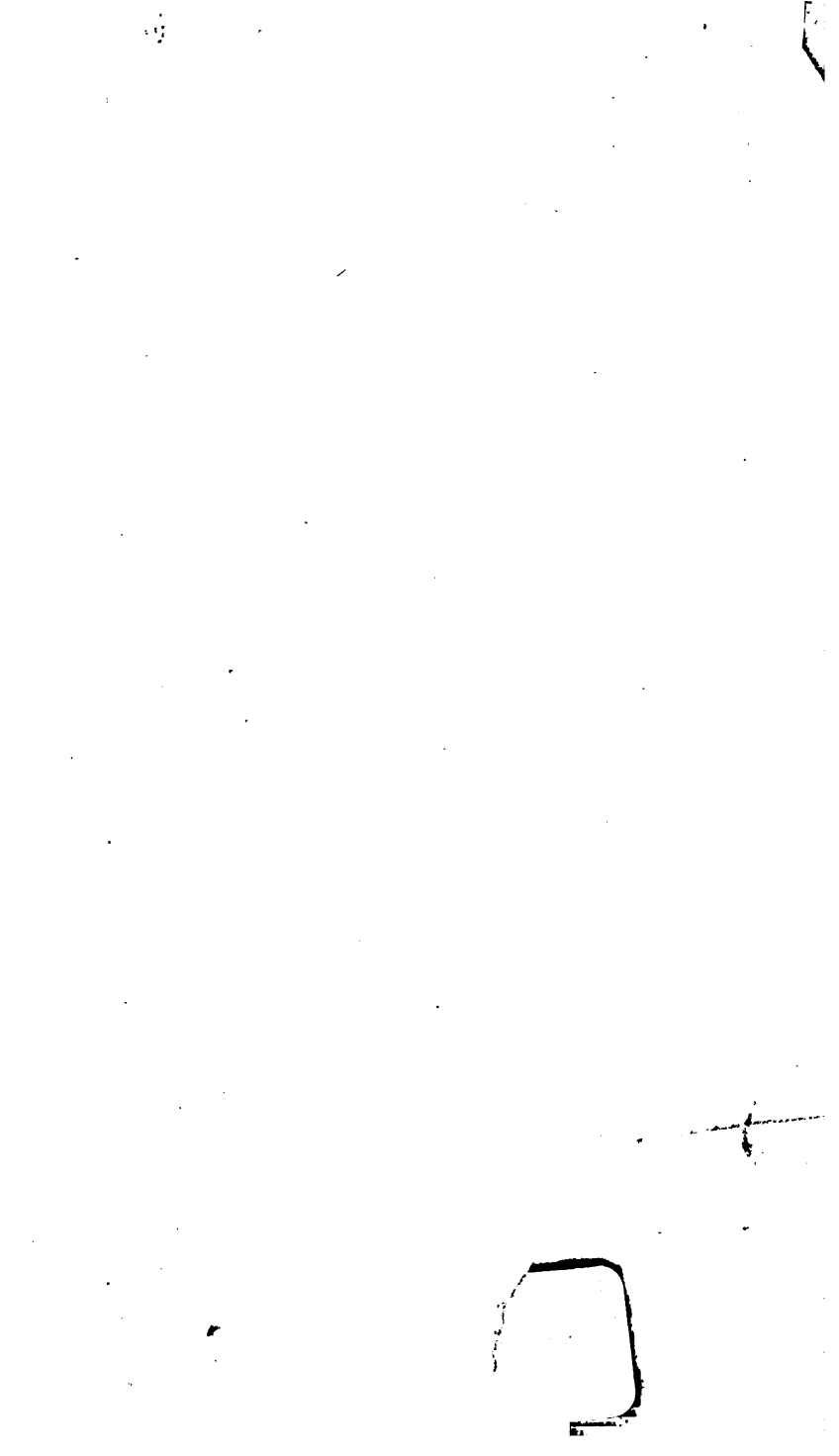
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